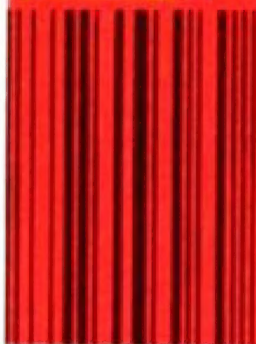


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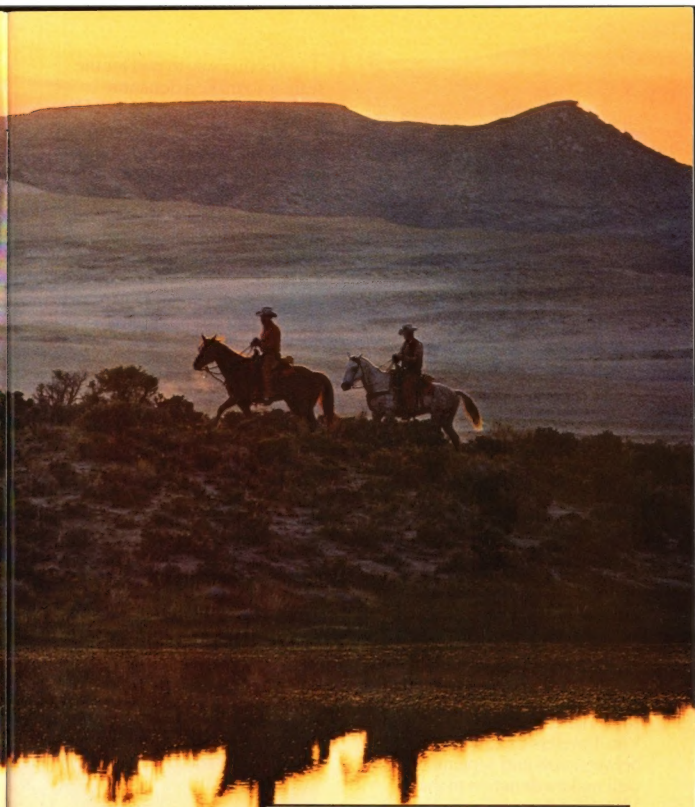




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"Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio?"

# 1968

## A TIME

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# GGP

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## Bush Appraisal

To the Editors:

I found Garry Wills' profile of George Bush [NATION, Aug. 22] profoundly disturbing. The image that emerges is of a nice man of unquestionable courage and resolve who nevertheless lacks curiosity, creativity and ingenuity. Here is a person who says, "I don't read that much," and who appears to be incredibly uninterested in learning about events in the world around him. If only he could channel his dogged determination to become President into acquiring the knowledge necessary for making the informed decisions of a national leader.

Patrick S. Brady  
Marietta, Pa.



I am perplexed by the obvious animus Wills feels toward Bush's personal and professional record. Does the fact that Bush received a 67 in English composition at Phillips Andover Academy more than 40 years ago really bear on our collective decision this fall?

Dutch Barhydt  
Litchfield, Conn.

Before Bush joined Ronald Reagan's ticket in 1980, he seemed to be a solid presidential candidate. His observations about "voodoo economics" and policies achieved by sleight of hand were—and remain—on target. But the 1988 Bush has stayed silent when confronted with happenings that the 1979 Bush would have denounced. Has he been brainwashed? Did he never believe what he said before the 1980 campaign? Or, worse yet, has he simply no views of his own?

Stephen E. Phillips  
New York City

I was shocked by your report on Bush. Somehow, a lifetime of extraordinary energy, courage and accomplishment was made to sound as if it were just a series of embarrassing failures.

Jim D. Flori  
Phoenix

## Letters

Bush expresses pride in his achievements as Vice President in defense of freedom and democracy. He cites his visits to Europe and El Salvador as proof of his successes. But I remember another of his trips, to the Philippines, where he told then President Ferdinand Marcos, "We love your adherence to democratic principles." This comment hardly shows a firm intent to do a "disproportionate amount for freedom around the world." On the contrary, it reveals weakness in the face of a corrupt dictatorship.

Daniel Timm  
Milwaukee

I question your cover phrase "In Search of Stature." If you are talking about qualifications, Bush is a decorated combat pilot, former Ambassador to the U.N. and head of the CIA, and now Vice President of the U.S. He has greater stature than his opponent, no matter how you measure it.

Matthew T. Baker  
Elmsford, N.Y.

Don't worry about Bush. Remember, Harry Truman didn't make his mark when he was Vice President either.

Mona Bang  
De Land, Fla.

## Burma Erupts

The blood of thousands has been spilled in Burma [WORLD, Aug. 22]. The government and the Burma Socialist Program Party have relinquished all their rights to decide the fate of the nation. In July, instead of taking steps toward meaningful change, they opted to retain the one-party political monopoly. Only the heroism and determination of the monks, students and other citizens prevented the tyrants from pulling off their ploy. Ne Win's and Sein Lwin's resignations are not enough to erase the crimes committed against our nation and people. Everyone who has been in the government since 1962 is responsible for ruining our rich country through corruption, mass murder and arrests. The existing one-party system must be dismantled. Only then will we be able to start anew and achieve much needed political and economic reforms.

This letter has been smuggled out of Burma. Please withhold my name and address because I fear reprisals.

Committee on Justice  
and Pluralistic Society  
Rangoon

I know that Burmese names are confusing, but the Rangoon demonstrators in your photograph are not carrying a picture of reformer Aung Gyi. Instead, it is the likeness of General Aung San, the national hero whose murder in 1947 was the start of the troubles that have dogged Burma ever since independence.

Leonard Euan Bagshawe  
Chapel Hill, N.C.



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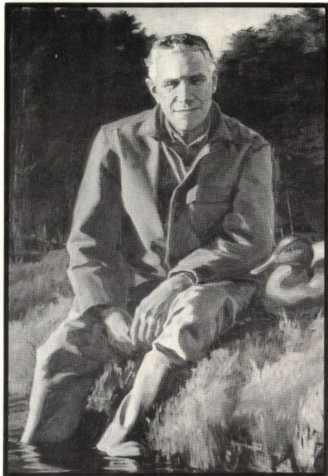
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## Letters

It is no exaggeration to say Burma is a leader among Third World countries. Burma was one of the first nations to free themselves from colonial rule after World War II. Now the movement toward democracy there will encourage others under military dictatorships to fight their oppressors.

U Thuang  
Pompano Beach, Fla.

### Hellish Poison

International leaders are repelled by the death and maiming caused by chemical warfare [WORLD, Aug. 22], but they continue the deadly use of bombs and bullets. They should concern themselves with the elimination of war instead of focusing on which methods of killing are acceptable and which are not.

Solly Patroutasch  
Ottawa

The photograph of the young child and adult slain by poison gas will remain etched in my memory for a long time to come. How can one human being do this to another? And, more important, how can the "civilized world" stand by and let this carnage continue?

Craig Scheuer  
Sarasota, Fla.

There is a certain irony in the fact that Iraq produced some of its chemical weapons at a pesticide plant at Samarra. The title of John O'Hara's novel *Appointment in Samarra* was based on W. Somerset Maugham's anecdote about a man who was jostled by Death in Baghdad and then fled in terror to Samarra. When asked to explain the encounter, Death replied, "I was astonished to see him in Baghdad, for I had an appointment with him tonight in Samarra."

Donald R. Harkness  
Tampa

### Combating Dwarfism

As the mother of an achondroplastic dwarf, I read with interest about Reza Garakani and the attempts to lengthen his long bones [AMERICAN SCENE, Aug. 22]. I applaud his grit as he goes through the ordeal of repeated surgery, but I am completely dismayed by the negative and despairing attitudes of his family about his condition. Accepting the Garakanis' assumption that severe short stature is an unmitigated tragedy is a disservice to little people. It discredits their capabilities, talents, skills and successes. Of course, as parents of dwarfs, we have cried into our pillows, and, naturally, our short-stature kids would like to be taller, but the fact is that tens of thousands of little people lead full and productive lives that give witness to the competence and creativity with which they meet the challenge of small size.

Linda B. Pederson  
Mercer Island, Wash.



## Letters

If the members of the Garakani family had been introduced to Little People of America, they might have felt less need for the painful and perhaps dangerous limb-lengthening procedures to "correct" dwarfism. Through L.P.A., profoundly short individuals share experiences and adaptation ideas and encounter positive role models. The majority of parents with dwarf children are wary of experimental surgery and opt instead to promote independence and self-acceptance.

Thomas Kolavo  
Richton Park, Ill.

### More Than Just a Movie

I am very disturbed about the tone and accuracy of quotes TIME has attributed to me. In your story on *The Last Temptation of Christ*, one quote in particular is totally false (RELIGION, Aug. 15). You say I told a priest, "It's just a movie." I never said this to Father Michael Morris or to anyone else. I don't talk or think about my work this way. If I did, *The Last Temptation of Christ* would never have been made.

Martin Scorsese  
New York City

If Scorsese's *Last Temptation of Christ* is really an attempt to reduce Jesus to normal human dimensions, it will go the

same way as all other ill-fated efforts over the past 2,000 years. The best response for Christians is not to picket and protest but to get on with the lives Jesus calls them to—lives of sacrificial love for others. Their service will always speak louder than their shouting.

Owen Salter  
Hawthorn, Australia

I like best the answer C.S. Lewis gave to the question "Who was Jesus?" In his book *Mere Christianity*, Lewis wrote that Jesus could not simply have been a great moral teacher because "a man who was merely a man and said the sort of things Jesus said would not be a great moral teacher. He would either be a lunatic—on a level with the man who says he is a poached egg—or else he would be the Devil of Hell. You must make your choice. Either this man was, and is, the Son of God; or else a madman or something worse."

Alicia T. Morgan  
Columbus

### Is Therapy Worthless?

It is true, as your headline states, that "The Shrink Has No Clothes" (BOOKS, Aug. 22). I hope Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson's book *Against Therapy* helps convince the public and the insurance com-

panies that psychoanalysis and other forms of "talk therapy" are as useless as they are expensive. Libraries are awash with studies showing that no form of "insight" therapy is of any value in the treatment of mental disorders. Research has repeatedly demonstrated that patients who undergo talk therapy do not improve any faster or any better than those who receive no treatment at all. The insight that people believe they get from discussions with a therapist is in reality nothing more than psychobabble.

Bernard Rimland, Director  
Institute for Child Behavior Research  
San Diego

Masson ignores the fact that many people in therapy get well or at least improve dramatically. I am one of those individuals. My therapist was knowledgeable, caring and dedicated. I hope Masson's book will not prevent others from seeking competent professional help. It can make a wonderful difference in the quality of a person's life.

Charles Robert Hoxsey  
Tumwater, Wash.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

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# THE DRIVE TO WIN:

*A coach's perspective  
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**M**ark Marquess, an NCAA Baseball Championship coach at Stanford University and the coach of the 1988 U.S. Olympic Baseball Team, believes there's a miraculous spirit about baseball that the world sorely needs. "I've been to other countries with the U.S. teams, and it's amazing how the game breaks down the diplomatic barriers," Marquess says. "People in other parts of the world really love baseball, and there's a special feeling for American players because it's *our* game."

But if you still think that Americans are the only people in the world who can hit a baseball, you had better keep a close eye on the 1988 Olympics. The national pastime is still as American as apple pie, but these days fans from as far afield as Rome, Moscow and Havana are answering the call to "Take me out to the ball game." During the 1984 Olympic Games the U.S. placed second to Japan's first. And one of the best amateur teams in the world, Cuba, wasn't even there.

## COMPETITION AT ITS TOUGHEST

The 1984 U.S. squad was top-notch. Many of those Olympic athletes are currently playing in the major leagues, including Will Clark—now with the San Francisco Giants—and Mark McGwire of the Oakland As (last season's American League Rookie of the Year). This year, Jim Abbott, Sullivan Award winner and the U.S. Baseball Federation's choice for Amateur of the Year in 1987, will be on the pitcher's mound. So will the University of Evansville's Andy Benes—first choice in this year's major league drafts. Sluggers Ty Griffin of Georgia Tech and Tino Martinez of the University of Tampa will be showing their offensive skills at the plate.

Without question, the competition in Seoul will be fierce. "The Korean and Taiwanese players will be showing together for four or five years, and their average age is about 25. Their amateur

teams are like our minor league AAA teams here," Marquess explains. "Most of our guys are younger, and this is the first time they've played together." The challenge, he says, will be to shape his players into a unit in the short time they have together.

The long summer will provide the young American players with a valuable challenge, since the schedule rivals a major league season in length and competition. "They're going to need the kind of stamina and endurance professional players call upon," Marquess says. That's why he'll carry a full roster of 20 players to Seoul, including pinch-hitters and relief pitchers.

## ALL-AMERICAN SPIRIT

Baseball is still a demonstration sport at the Olympics—medal competition doesn't begin until 1992 at the Games in Barcelona. Even if there was a gold medal at stake, Marquess wouldn't put winning before what he considers to be the real reward of going to the Olympics.

"That's a once-in-a-lifetime chance for these athletes to represent their country while they see the world and play ball. It's something they'll remember no matter how many years they spend in the big leagues, and no matter how much money they make. This is the icing on the cake of their baseball careers."

Baseball has a way of bringing out the all-American spirit in everyone. Marquess doesn't say it, but it's clear that behind the calm demeanor of this veteran baseball skipper, he's as excited as any of his players.

With spirit like that, you can be sure that Marquess and his boys will show the world what baseball is *really* all about.



**Mark Marquess,**  
Coach of  
the 1988  
U.S. Olympic  
Baseball  
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## American Scene

### In Georgia: Through the Gospel Grapevine

The sound of American slavery is living very quietly on a dark side street in Brunswick, Ga. And a young black composer named Walter Robinson has come a thousand miles to hear it: tones, overtones, agony and all. Call it gospel, or call it the blues. The sound starts low and shades into the sky, leaving behind an ache or sprig of consolation. "That's the sound I want," he says, as he drives toward his destination.

At the door of their modest brick bun-

"He's saying 'We are not yet with you, Jesus.'" Frankie volunteers from the couch; her glasses shine. "Is that it?" asks Walter. "There's a place in my opera where I'd love to use that sound. We could mount four speakers at the corners of the theater and get exactly that same effect of being surrounded by the sound." Doug's brother is a deacon in the church, so maybe a full-scale taping can be arranged.

These days Walter Robinson has arranging on the brain. His opera, finished

read music) sends it booming back. Then again, with an altered stress:

*First we weren't sure  
If it was God's will for us  
To be on our own.  
So for two years we debated  
Among ourselves.*

Quimby began sweating in the rice and cotton fields when he was four years old. As a teenage sharecropper, he sang spirituals to himself out behind the plow. Then this soft-spoken man with the gentlest of handshakes met Sea Islands Folklorist and Singer Bessie Jones in 1969 and discovered that the songs he'd been summoning all his life went back, virtually unchanged, to slavery days. "Singing is a part of our heritage," notes Quimby. "The slaves liked to sing to keep the pressure off of them, to make it easier on them." These days Doug and his wife travel the country presenting educational programs on slave life and culture. Doug is a repository of countless haunting melodies and is fully capable of transporting a listener 200 years into the past with a stamp of his foot and a huskily ringing baritone.

"Isn't his voice incredible?" marvels Robinson. "It comes out of who he is and what he'd done—it just goes to the pit of your soul." The composer is determined to snag as much of that rough emotion as he can. During rehearsals for his opera, he has repeatedly cautioned his singers to sound less "white" and instead let their voices rip. "I want you to sing just how you do back home," he tells them, "when you're in your own church choir."

Robinson has come great distances by knowing how to shade a tune. He was born in Philadelphia to parents who worked at collecting trash and scrubbing other people's linoleum. In the late 1970s he played bass behind Folk Singer Livingstone Taylor. Now he owns a rusty, faded blue BMW and a house on Martha's Vineyard, where Lionel Richie has hung his hat. For the past four years he has held a plum job at Harvard's W.E.B. DuBois Institute for Afro-American Research, which asks only that he put the final touches on his opera. Robinson has steeped himself in the nightmare world of the lash, lock and branding iron. He admits, "I have black friends who say, 'Why do it?' That's over." Well, I think, "Why not do it?"

*Porgy and Bess* seems like a term paper by comparison. George Gershwin penned part of his famous opera while eavesdropping on the coast in South Carolina. Gershwin wrote to a friend upon completing a prayer-music scene in 1934 that "this has somewhat the effect we heard in Hendersonville as we stood outside the Holy Rollers' Church." Rob-



Baritone Doug Quimby and his grandchildren: a repository of haunting melodies

galow, Doug Quimby and his wife Frankie greet the 37-year-old Robinson fondly, with gruff good humor. The three have met before, and the Quimbys know why their friend is here. Doug, 51, is slated to play a major role in a folk opera that Walter has just completed, and the two men need to run through some changes in the score. In addition to this contribution, the Quimbys offer their visitor an entrée to gospel singers in the small, isolated churches of coastal Georgia. Untrained choir singers such as these will be the stars of Walter's opera.

Walter has a tape he wants Doug to hear, so they head for the family room and pop a cassette into the machine. "Right here—what's that? What's he saying?" asks the younger man as the tape begins. Doug angles his upper body toward the sound. A black preacher is crying out his sermon, his voice cracking with emotion through line after line, at times shifting to an eerie falsetto high above the drone of his congregation. It's part Motown, part a century or two of brutal noonday toil, and it will raise the hairs on the back of your neck.

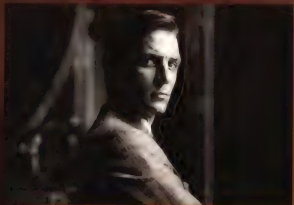
after eight years of starts and stops, must now be staged and led to its audience. The subject matter is a bit of a stumbling block. Robinson has elected to dramatize the true story of Denmark Vesey, an erudite black carpenter who plotted an 1822 slave revolt in Charleston, S.C., and was subsequently hanged for his trouble.

Delving into black history, Robinson believes, means honoring the black voice in all its suggestive power. Working through the gospel grapevine, he has recruited exceptional black singers from church choirs in half a dozen states in order to load his work with feeling. "Black churches are the museum of black life," he says. "There is nowhere else to go." Of 37 parts in the opera, only one, that of a slave master, is white.

Doug is waiting the next day at his church, a low-slung building the size of a corner gas station, where there's an organ and a clunky, slightly out-of-tune piano. It's a Saturday. Several women are moving around in the kitchen; the small, bare chapel is deserted. Walter plays a quick phrase on the piano and sings the lyric faintly for Doug, and Doug (who does not



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inson tells the story with a smile. "I'm not on the outside; I'm inside," he says.

Originally drawn to the notion of writing his opera about Black Abolitionist Harriet Tubman, the composer finally settled on Vesey because "the issues were hottest there." Robinson is fascinated by the question of what it meant for Vesey to be a prosperous free black—he got lucky and bought his freedom with \$600 of \$1,500 in winnings from the Charleston lottery—living in a city that was then a capital of the slave trade.

Vesey's wife remained a slave. What must family life have been like under those conditions? Most of all, what led a man who had profited from playing it safe to then rise and howl at the age of 55? "It is difficult to imagine what *infatuation* could have prompted you to attempt an enterprise so wild and visionary," noted the Charleston court in a tone of disbelief, as it sentenced Vesey to death.

Both the lingering questions and the



Quimby, with Robinson, lets his voice rip

doleful answers may be audible before long. Robinson is in the process of staging selections from his work (titled *Look What a Wonder Jesus Has Done*) for theater representatives in Boston and New York City. Meanwhile, he's also casting the last few parts by ransacking the countryside for those voices that can pierce the floor of heaven with their wails.

Which brings us back to the Quimby home. After the tape of the rustic church service has run its course, Walter quizzes his hosts about other possible mines of vocal talent in the area. "How about over on St. Simons—do they sing that way over there?" he asks. "No, they don't," answers Frankie. She reflects for a moment before suggesting another church she knows of nearby. "Oh, you have got to hear them," she tells Walter. "That what you've got on the tape there can't touch what this is."

"Really?" says Walter. His eyes alight. It's late on a Friday, and dark outside. For the moment there's nothing to be done. But in his mind Walter's already slipping down the road beneath the palmettos, toward the place where history and music cross.

—By Bruce Morgan



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*Breakfast — once a stand-up snack to get the day going — has turned into a matter of importance. More than a gulp of orange juice and a nibble on a sweet roll, breakfast has grown into an inspiring meal that activates your system and psyche for the day's work ahead. But the new breakfast concept doesn't stop there. It's also a worthy opportunity for celebrating life's meaningful moments before the day's start — a chance to ignite the day with a sumptuous and festive repast once reserved for evening ceremonies. In fact, breakfast can be served as a main meal — any time of day.*

**By Leslie Lampert**

In today's global marketplace, more companies are pursuing transactions with foreign corporations. As a result, corporate executives are spending time on building business and bridging cultural gaps to form solid professional relationships.

While the business breakfast has long been an important tool for negotiators, today's morning meal conferences take cultural perspectives into consideration. Picture this:

You've worked months and months on your company's first major contract with the Peoples Republic Of China. Your product has been applauded, the necessary approvals obtained, financing documents are in place and first deliveries are finally scheduled for next spring.

Both business relationships and personal friendships have flourished during this stress-filled time. Countless trips have been made overseas, and your clients' families have shared their culture by welcoming you into their homes.

At today's signing, a memorable handshake secures the deal and sets it in motion. What better way to celebrate the dawn of this new relationship than with a morning feast that combines East with West?

The traditional Dim Sum is the Chinese breakfast event that, translated, means little snacks. In the Far East, Dim Sum begins in the morning and often runs into the dinner meal — confirming our new focus on breakfast at any time. Fare includes a variety of steamed savories served on small plates.

Americans know this meal as a weekend morning ritual offered by many Chinese restaurants.

Here, however, tradition takes on a new twist. Familiar tastes and techniques from each culture

are united to create original dishes appealing to both civilizations. The food, then, is the ultimate negotiation! Peking ravioli burst with ham and cheese; donuts get flavored with black beans; loquats find their way into homemade muffins; Opened Mouth Laugh (Chinese fritters) are slathered with strawberry preserves; Ants Climb A Tree (traditional Chinese glass noodles) gets topped with sausage and eggs; and pancakes are enriched with soy milk rather than buttermilk, then drizzled with slab candy syrup.

**Opened Mouth Laugh (Kai Kou Xiao)**

- 1/4 CUP SUGAR
- 4 TABLESPOONS BUTTER OR MARGARINE
- 2 EGGS
- 1/2 TEASPOON VANILLA
- 1/2 TEASPOON SALT
- 2 CUPS FLOUR
- 1/2 TEASPOON BAKING SODA
- 2 TEASPOONS BAKING POWDER
- 5 CUPS VEGETABLE OIL (FOR FRYING)

**Directions:**

Stir butter into sugar. Beat in eggs, vanilla, and salt. Sift flour, baking soda, and baking powder together. Stir into egg mixture to make a sticky dough. Form into balls by tablespoons. Drop each ball into cold water; then coat with sesame seeds. Fry at 300 degrees in oil until fritters split (and look like a laughing mouth). Serve with strawberry preserves. Makes about 20 fritters.

## The Big Deal

EAST  
MEETS  
WEST







**THIS LITTLE  
PIECE OF GRAIN  
HOLDS AN  
AMAZING  
HEALTH STORY.**



**FROM OATS COMES A WAY TO HELP LOWER CHOLESTEROL. OAT BRAN.**

You may not think you have a cholesterol problem, but over 50% of all adults have elevated cholesterol. For children, it's as much as 25%. Years of eating a diet high in fat and cholesterol is one of the major causes.

So changing to a diet lower in both can help. And including oat bran in that diet is a step in the right direction.

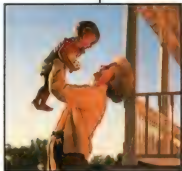
This little piece of the grain contains the highest amount of soluble fiber of any grain. And that's the important part. Because some studies suggest a diet high in soluble fiber—and low in fat—may help bring elevated cholesterol down to a healthier level.

**LOWERING YOUR CHOLESTEROL CAN HELP LOWER YOUR RISK OF HEART DISEASE.**

Why do you want lower cholesterol? Very simply, for the sake of your heart and cardiovascular system. Left unchecked, cholesterol that the body can't handle collects on the inside walls of the arteries. It can

build and build until your arteries become clogged. The result? Heart attack and other cardiovascular problems.

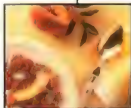
But a diet low in fat and high in soluble fiber (foods like oat bran, beans and fruit) may help lower high



cholesterol levels and help you counteract this problem.

**MAKE OAT BRAN PART OF YOUR DIET FOR A HEALTHY LIFE.**

As you can see, it makes a lot of sense to include oat bran in your low-fat diet. One



of the easiest ways to do that is at breakfast. So enjoy cereals made from oat bran with skim milk, fresh fruit and whole wheat toast.

You'll be getting a delicious meal low in fat and cholesterol, low in calories and high in fiber and carbohydrates. And you'll be good to your heart too.

This message brought to you by Kellogg's, where a healthy breakfast starts.

For more information on lowering cholesterol, including a Health Passport from the American Health Foundation, a special brochure on cholesterol and coupons for Kellogg's cereals, write to Kellogg's Healthy Life, PO Box 5452, Kalamazoo, MI 49003-5452.

**Kellogg's**

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**GET A TASTE  
FOR THE HEALTHY LIFE.™**



## The Low-Calorie, Low-Cholesterol Breakfast

Summer's gone—and so is some of you! You've logged more than 50 miles of jogging, limited protein and fat consumption, stocked up on complex carbohydrates, and consumed a quart of water a day for the past two months. You're lean, strong and fit—and your cholesterol level is below 200 for the first time.

Not only do you look and feel better, but your concentration has improved at work, you're more patient with the kids, and you actually feel satisfied eating smaller portions.

After years of equating dieting with deprivation, nutritionists are now extolling the virtues of eating a wide variety of foods so you can watch your weight and cholesterol intake.

Today's focus is on making yourself feel satisfied while you're dieting. Whether you're celebrating the new you alone or gathering some friends from the health club, here are a few low-calorie, low-cholesterol and satisfying breakfasts to choose from:

**Weight Watchers Glazed Cinnamon Grapefruit** (from *Weight Watchers Quick Start Program Cookbook* published by NAL Books); **whole grain waffles with blueberry topping**; **Canyon Ranch Bread** (from *Canyon Ranch Menus and Recipes* by Jeanne Jones) served at the Canyon Ranch health and fitness resort in Arizona; coffee or tea with skim milk.

### Weight Watchers Glazed Cinnamon Grapefruit

Using the point of a sharp knife, remove seeds from ½ medium grapefruit; then, using a grapefruit knife, cut around each section to loosen from membrane and skin. Place grapefruit half in small shallow baking dish and spoon ½ teaspoon honey onto center of fruit; sprinkle with dash ground cinnamon. Broil 3 inches from heat source until fruit is lightly browned and honey has melted, 8 to 10 minutes.

Per serving: 54 calories / 1 g protein / 0.1 g fat / 14 g carbohydrate / 0 mg sodium / 0 mg cholesterol

### Whole Grain Waffles with Blueberry Topping

- 1 CUP ALL PURPOSE FLOUR
- 2 CUPS SKIM MILK
- 3 CUPS MULTI-GRAIN CEREAL
- ½ TEASPOON SALT
- 1 TABLESPOON BAKING POWDER
- 3 EGG WHITES
- 2 TABLESPOONS VEGETABLE OIL

#### Directions for Whole Grain Waffles:

Combine milk with cereal in mixing bowl and let soften for five minutes. Add oil and mix. In separate bowl, beat egg whites until stiff. Stir remaining ingredients into cereal mixture; then fold in egg whites. Spray preheated waffle iron lightly with vegetable coating. Follow manufacturer's instructions for batter amount; cook until waffles are golden. Makes 6 to 8 waffles.

#### Directions for Blueberry Topping:

Combine all ingredients in saucepan. Cover tightly and cook over medium heat until blueberries are soft. Immediately pour over waffles and serve.

### Blueberry Topping

- 2 CUPS BLUEBERRIES
- ¼ CUP FRUCTOSE
- 1 TEASPOON CINNAMON
- ¼ CUP WATER

### Canyon Ranch Bread

- 2 CUPS WHOLE WHEAT FLOUR
- 1 CUP UNPROCESSED WHEAT BRAN
- 1 TABLESPOON BAKING POWDER
- ¼ TEASPOON BAKING SODA
- 3 TABLESPOONS FRUCTOSE
- 1 TEASPOON CINNAMON
- ½ CUP RAISINS
- 2 CUPS BUTTERMILK
- 1 EGG
- 1 TABLESPOON VANILLA EXTRACT

#### Directions:

1. Preheat oven to 350 degrees. Spray loaf pan with nonstick vegetable coating.
2. Combine flour, bran, baking powder, baking soda, fructose and cinnamon in a large bowl. Mix well. Add raisins and again, mix well.
3. Combine buttermilk, egg and vanilla extract in another bowl and mix.
4. Pour liquid ingredients into dry ingredients and mix well.
5. Pour mixture into prepared loaf pan and bake in preheated oven for 45 to 50 minutes. Place bread on its side on a wire rack to cool.

Makes 18 servings.

Each serving contains approximately: 80 calories / 0.9 g fat / 14 mg cholesterol / 95 mg sodium / 3 g fiber



## M E N U

WEIGHT WATCHERS  
GLAZED CINNAMON  
GRAPEFRUIT

WHOLE GRAIN WAFFLES  
WITH BLUEBERRY TOPPING

CANYON RANCH BREAD

COFFEE OR TEA WITH  
SKIM MILK



## See-You-Next-Summer Beach Brunch

Summer has come to an end. Lazy days on the beach planning clambakes, playing volleyball, and applying suntan lotion are activities of the past. Paperback novels have been replaced by news-magazines; storefront displays are focused on fall clothing; the air has a subtle crispness; and the back-to-work spirit is in the air. It's been a fabulous summer. And now it's time to have a good-bye breakfast with good friends.

Try a late morning beach brunch with "breakfast heroes" that pack easily into a cooler. Make an array of pita-filled heroes that roll up like a crepe: peanut butter and jelly with banana; egg

salad; avocado and chicken salad; ham and cheese; and lox and cream cheese. Pack another cooler with yogurts, sodas and juice-packs; bring a whole watermelon and giant oatmeal raisin cookies for dessert.

### M E N U

ASSORTED PITA  
HEROES

YOGURT

WATERMELON

OATMEAL RAISIN  
COOKIES

JUICES AND SODA

### Oatmeal Raisin Cookies

- 8 OZ. BUTTER OR MARGARINE
- 2 CUPS DARK BROWN SUGAR
- 2 EGGS
- 1 TEASPOON VANILLA
- 2 CUPS ALL-PURPOSE FLOUR
- 1 TEASPOON BAKING POWDER
- 1 TEASPOON BAKING SODA
- $\frac{1}{2}$  TEASPOON SALT
- 1 TEASPOON CINNAMON
- $1\frac{1}{2}$  CUPS QUICK-COOKING ROLLED OATS
- 1 CUP RAISINS

### Directions:

Cream butter and sugar; then beat in eggs and vanilla. Sift together flour, baking powder, baking soda, salt and cinnamon. Alternately, add sifted flour mixture and oatmeal to egg mixture. Stir in raisins. Drop by tablespoon onto buttered cookie sheet. Bake at 350 degrees for 15 minutes. Makes approximately four dozen.

## The At-Sea Honeymoon

Alone at last. Yesterday you said "I do" before 200 guests, and danced with a dozen distant relatives after months of making arrangements for a night that became memorable in a moment. And now, from the cabin aboard your private chartered sailboat, you try to mentally piece together last night's remembrances while being soothed by soft sea breezes.

Once, favorite honeymoon destinations were tropical resorts where new lovers shared a pool

and pina colodas with other strangers seeking the same repose. Today, however, privacy has become a premium, and newlyweds are searching for more intimate environments aboard ship. Celebrating your marriage privately, with the ocean wrapped around you, is an idyllic way to rendezvous with your new mate.

On deck, the captain gears up for the day's sail while the cook prepares your first matrimonial feast. The aroma of freshly brewed coffee lingers in the ocean air, and as you look up through the hatch, the gulls beg for your breakfast. Fresh figs, croissants with melted brie and macadamia nuts; finger sandwiches, smoked salmon canapes, shirred eggs with cream, and asparagus with olive oil and cracked pepper beckon you to the deck.

For the finale, relax over iced coffee with vanilla ice cream and chocolate shavings or a Frozen Fuzzy Navel, a frozen blender drink of orange juice, vodka and peach schnapps — and toast to new beginnings.

### Frozen Fuzzy Navel

- 1 OUNCE PEACH SCHNAPPS
- 1 OUNCE VODKA
- 8 OUNCES ORANGE JUICE
- 3 CUPS ICE CUBES

### Directions:

Put all ingredients in blender and mix until smooth. Serves one.



ADDITIONAL PHOTOGRAPHY BY KARL STEINBRENNER

### M E N U

CROISSANTS WITH  
MELTED BRIE AND  
MACADAMIA NUTS

SHIRRED EGGS WITH CREAM

FRESH ASPARAGUS WITH  
OLIVE OIL AND CRACKED  
PEPPER

SMOKED SALMON CANAPES

FINGER SANDWICHES

FROZEN FUZZY NAVELS





## IT'S NOT PLAIN TO HIM.

These days Dannon lowfat and non-fat plain yogurts are turning up in some of the most discriminating kitchens. They're replacing things like mayonnaise and sour cream to make all kinds of savory dishes lower in fat and calories—not to mention as much as twenty times lower in cholesterol. For a book full of recipes using Dannon plain yogurts in ways that are anything but plain, send \$2.00 to P.O. Box 8662, North Suburban, IL 60169-8662.\*

DANNON

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**DANNON IS YOGURT.**



## A Letter from the Publisher

**N**ational gridlock, the subject of this week's cover story, is a problem for individual travelers and large companies alike. With 18,000 U.S. employees, Time Inc. suffers along with many other firms from the snarls on roadways and runways that bring the nation ever closer to the ultimate jam-up. Gridlock costs billions of dollars in lost productivity, plus plenty of vein-popping frustration. The combination of close confinement, noise and often heat can turn a clogged encounter of the transportation kind into a waking nightmare.

That feeling struck TIME Correspondent Thomas McCarroll the day he set out for a luncheon interview with William Simon at the financier's summer home on Long Island. It took McCarroll 75 minutes just to get off Manhattan Island. Then he found himself on an expressway covered with what seemed like "a million cars. By the time I reached Simon's home, he couldn't do the interview," says McCarroll. "I apologized profusely, blamed the traffic and apologized some more." Simon rescheduled the interview, but McCarroll's useless round trip, which should have taken four hours, consumed more than seven.

Sometimes the shoe pinches the other foot. New York Governor Mario Cuomo was almost an hour late for a lunch with



Griding for gridlock: Bolte begins a commute in McLean, Va.

TIME's editors because his car was caught in Manhattan traffic. His aides could do little other than telephone from the vehicle. Car phones are especially popular in Los Angeles, where many of TIME's ad-sales executives have installed them. Says Los Angeles Division Manager Steve Seabolt: "When you call and say, 'I'm on the freeway,' people know just what you mean."

Like other workers, TIME staffers constantly seek small victories in their everyday travel. TIME Washington Correspondent Gisela Bolte, who reported much of this week's story, avoids the capital's rush hours when commuting by auto from suburban McLean, Va. Says she: "I go in late and come home late." Associate Editor Stephen Koepf, the story's writer, usually sets his alarm clock for 5:15 a.m. on days when he must fly, so that he can arrive at one of New York City's airports in time for flights that depart by 7 a.m., before runways clog. That strategy allowed him to arrive in Los Angeles three hours before a meeting in Palm Springs. He rented a car and hit the crowded freeways. He missed the meeting by two hours.

*Robert L. Miller*

**Only one kind of oil  
can take this kind of heat.**

Temperatures inside a car's engine can reach 570°F. Only synthetic motor oil can effectively take this heat.

Tests show that Mobil 1<sup>®</sup> Synthetic Motor Oil protects vital engine parts under these extreme conditions better than any conventional motor oil.

Mobil 1 costs more. But more people use it every day—because it doesn't pay to play with fire.

**Mobil 1.**

Isn't your car worth the extra protection?





## **IN A WORLD OF BADGES AND LABELS, ACURA PRESENTS AN AUTOMOTIVE STATEMENT THAT RELIES ON NEITHER.**

There was a time when a badge on the trunk or hood of an automobile stood for something tangible.

Not simply status or social standing. But for qualities that had more to do with why one considers a world-class car in the first place.

The kind of qualities that make an automobile fit the wants, needs and aspirations of its driver.

Not just the trends of the times.

The kind of qualities that add up to an uncompromised combination of performance, technology, craftsmanship and classic design.

A description that quite aptly fits the Acura Legend Coupe.

A world-class performance automobile for the kind of person who prefers innovation to mere image. Credentials to cachet.





Innovation like a four-valve-per cylinder, 24-valve V-6 engine with a seamless flow of power provided by a tuned variable intake system and Formula One-inspired programmed fuel injection.

Keeping that power constantly in touch with the road is a fully independent front and rear double wishbone suspension with coil springs and fade-resistant gas pressurized shock absorbers.

Add to that, credentials such as an available Anti-Lock Braking (ALB) system\*, a leather-trimmed interior\* and an Acura/Bose® Music System†, and you have what many consider to be an uncompromised blend of performance and luxury.

Of course, as important as innovation and

credentials are, one thing never goes out of style. Style.

Which is why the Acura Legend Coupe takes its inspiration from classic design. And the timeless cues of the wind tunnel. Not the winds of change.

There will always be those who buy an automobile for the image its badge reflects. But it's nice to know there will always be an alternative for those who feel the whole car should do just that.

Call 1-800-TO-ACURA for a dealer near you.

**ACURA**  
PRECISION CRAFTED PERFORMANCE  
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TIME/SEPTEMBER 12, 1988

# Shifting Mist

*Pit-bull politics and weak voter conviction make the polls bounce*



Political polls, in general, should be presented to the public with more warnings than cigarette packs. Besides the standard notice about potential sampling error, surveys can be skewed by ephemeral news flurries. Further, they cannot predict election results; "horse-race" studies merely provide a snapshot of voter sentiment at one instant in a long campaign. But even that modest claim is shaky in the tumult of Campaign '88. The profusion of polls this summer resembles not so much an album of still photographs as a movie of Keystone Kops at their most kinetic. "Hardly an hour goes by without new figures coming out," says Pollster Peter Hart. "With so many numbers in play, we must be confusing voters a little."

One reason the digits have been hopping erratically is the interplay between the lack of deep commitment to either candidate and the combatants' response to that dearth. The Republicans set a pattern of pit-bull negativism earlier in the cycle than usual, and the Democrats have felt compelled to respond. When voters are relatively clear about their convictions, negative attacks are unlikely to produce large swings. But with the public still hazy about what George Bush and Michael Dukakis are really for, each candidate hopes to paint a dark image of the other. That,

in turn, discourages positive loyalty.

As the candidates set out for the rallies that are the rite of Labor Day, it was clear that Bush in less than a month has erased the lead Dukakis had enjoyed since mid-spring. The Vice President was able to perform that difficult trick by cracking, with negative attacks, the thin ice of support upon which Dukakis had been gliding. Dukakis is answering in kind. Last week he also rehabilitated his wily Bismarckian strategist, John Sasso, who was banished after confessing complicity in an under-the-table video attack exposing Joseph Biden's borrowed phrases.

In a poll taken for TIME by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman last week, the Vice President had a modest five-point advantage among those likely to vote; other new samplings showed the race even closer. More significant, TIME's survey indicated why voters have refused to go steady with either suitor. Though both candidates secured their nominations months ago, many Americans still feel they know too little about what kind of President either would be. When asked if they knew "a lot of things, some things or not much at all" on that critical subject, exactly half the voters responded "not much" concerning

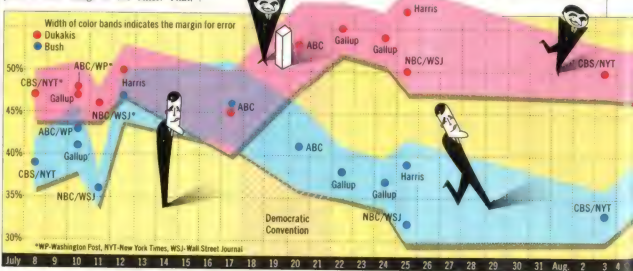
Dukakis. More voters felt knowledgeable about Bush. But con-

sidering his long tenure in public office, he also suffers a familiarity gap: 29% said they knew very little about him as a potential President.

A traditional explanation for both the volatility of polls and the evident mood of disconnection is that most voters simply do not pay much attention to the campaign until Labor Day. This year, Democratic Pollster Paul Maslin points out, that effect is compounded because "no incumbent is running and because attitudes about Bush and Dukakis are so weakly held."

Neither Bush nor Dukakis has done much to sweeten the atmosphere or evoke enthusiasm. If a national campaign can educate the nation about the most relevant issues, the candidates have failed as teachers. Both won nomination without expending much energy on large themes or bold proposals that might pique interest or engender commitment. Rather, they relied on their large treasuries, adroit organizations and talents for playing it safe. Both have fudged on some difficult but basic issues, most notably candid, viable proposals for dealing with the deficit. When voters were asked if the candidates were addressing real issues or ducking them, both nominees came out poorly. For Bush, 49% answered "avoiding," vs.

43% who credited him with





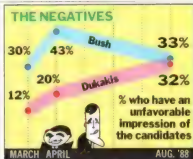
talking substance. For Dukakis, the ratio was only slightly better, 41% vs. 44%.

Economic questions, including the flood of federal debt, remain the public's biggest single concern, as last week's poll demonstrated. Voters seem to show more realism than the candidates. While Bush and Dukakis continue to blather and dissemble when taxes are discussed, a solid majority (59%) said they expected a hike, regardless of which party wins.

Dukakis has got by with generalities for months. He found himself in a happy position last spring: the nomination was safe, and his adversary seemed so obscured by Ronald Reagan's shadow that a Democratic advantage materialized. The Governor's confidence was boosted further by polls showing very high "negatives" for Bush—based largely on the perception that Bush was a weak leader. Instead of using that period to etch a vivid profile of himself in voters' minds, Dukakis clung to his bland mantra, promising "good jobs at good pay." Recently, he added "in the good old U.S.A.," thus sounding just a bit protectionist while still warding off the hounds of jingoism sicced on him by the Republicans.

Bush's campaign was just as fallow, with one critical difference. He decided, as Pollster Hart put it, "that if he couldn't be the good guy, he'd make sure that both would wear black hats." As if he were the candidate of the out party challenging an incumbent, Bush began a series of harsh, dubious attacks. He depicted Dukakis as kind to murderers and drug dealers, mushy on defense policy and hostile to the Pledge of Allegiance. Last week Bush even went boating in Boston Harbor to point up the severe pollution in Dukakis' home waters, trying to finesse the fact that the Reagan Administration has repeatedly opposed water cleanup efforts.

By midsummer, even before the Republicans gathered in New Orleans, these attacks had effect. Dukakis' negatives began to rise, and his lead over Bush shrank. The



Democrat had allowed his hold on voters to remain so frail that even trivial events damaged him. His standing slipped in early August, for instance, after Reagan called him an "invalid" while Republicans floated a rumor that Dukakis had once sought psychological counseling. Reagan retracted his remark, and the gossip proved unfounded, but it left a scar. Bush planted what might be a more durable brand: in TIME's poll, 40% of likely voters agreed with the statement that Dukakis is "too liberal." A successful Republican convention, during which Bush managed to sever the umbilical cord binding him to Reagan, put the race on an even footing. Even more remarkable, Bush managed his recovery, despite the controversy surrounding his choice of the callow Dan Quayle as his running mate.

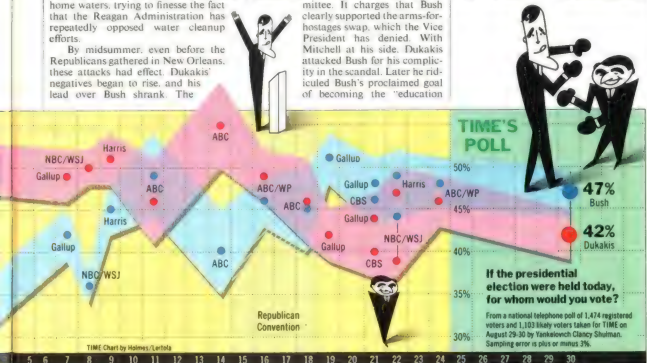
After surrendering the initiative, Dukakis changed his tactics and began to strike back last week. He took advantage of the publication of a new book, *Men of Zeal*, by Maine's Senators, Democrat George Mitchell and Republican William Cohen, who were on the Iran-contras committee. It charges that Bush clearly supported the arms-for-hostages swap, which the Vice President has denied. With Mitchell at his side, Dukakis attacked Bush for his complicity in the scandal. Later he ridiculed Bush's proclaimed goal of becoming the "education

President." Dukakis demanded to know "Where was George?" when the Administration cut funds for education programs: "He was playing hooky."

In the current atmosphere, negativism appears to have become ingrained. The attack mode, as Hart observes, "is the easy shortcut" for campaign strategists, particularly when their own candidate lacks luster. One large hazard, however, is that the trashing can boomerang. TIME's survey showed that the potential for movement remains large. When those surveyed were asked if they might change their minds before Election Day, one-fifth of those supporting each ticket said yes. Among those wavering, two groups are particularly important: those who describe themselves as independents, and Democrats who voted for Reagan in 1984. Dukakis has more trouble than Bush in holding the Reagan Democrats. At the moment, 49% of them support Dukakis, while 35% say they are voting for Bush. But 40% of the Reagan Democrats who prefer Dukakis say they might change their minds, while only 33% of those who support Bush feel the same way.

With the race likely to remain close for weeks to come, both the candidates and their spear carriers will be sorely tempted to invest more energy in stabbing the opposition than in defining themselves. So long as they avoid the serious issues, neither candidate will inspire much deep commitment. Volatile polls will be one symptom of that syndrome. A far more serious effect will be felt next January, when the new President discovers that his constituents don't know what he is all about.

—By Laurence J. Barrett





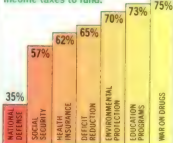
## Nation

# Behind the Numbers

TIME's new poll shows how Bush regained the lead by improving his image

### SUPPORT FOR TAXES

Would you support an increase in federal income taxes to fund:



Though the candidates put a tax increase in the same category as devil worship, the people, in this case, are more realistic. When asked to name the most important issues, they cited the deficit and economy as paramount.

### CHARACTERISTICS

Which descriptions apply?

	Dukakis		Bush	
	April	Last wk	April	Last wk
A strong and decisive leader	52%	51%	47%	53%
Someone you can trust	61%	53%	49%	58%
Has the experience to be President	53%	43%	80%	83%
Cares about the average American	70%	72%	51%	57%
Will be good in an international crisis	41%	40%	51%	60%
Someone you would be proud to have as President	54%	49%	48%	56%

Since April, Bush has demolished the wimp factor and leaped ahead of Dukakis on leadership and pride attributes.

### COMPETENCE

Which candidate would do a better job of:

	Dukakis		Bush	
	April	Last wk	April	Last wk
Attacking the drug problem	40%	47%	59%	53%
Keeping the economy strong	39%	40%	61%	60%
Helping the homeless	37%	38%	63%	62%
Reducing the deficit	37%	38%	63%	62%
Keeping inflation under control	37%	38%	63%	62%
Maintaining a strong defense	43%	46%	57%	54%
Dealing with the Soviet Union	47%	49%	53%	51%
Protecting the environment	47%	49%	53%	51%
Curbing crime	38%	43%	62%	57%
Ensuring honesty in government	41%	43%	59%	57%

In April only 42% said Bush would do better than Dukakis on the economy, and 49% said he would be better at dealing with the Soviets.

### QUAYLE HUNT

Do you think that Quayle received special treatment in getting into the National Guard?

**Yes 39%**  
**No 44%**

If you could have received special treatment under similar circumstances, is this something you would have done?

**Yes 46%**  
**No 37%**

% who think Bentsen or Quayle is qualified to take over as President

**Bentsen 61%**  
**Quayle 33%**

Does choosing Quayle reflect favorably or unfavorably on Bush's ability to make important decisions?

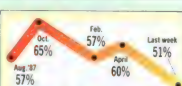
**Favorably 38%**  
**Unfavorably 46%**

Has the press treated Quayle fairly or unfairly?

**Fairly 32%**  
**Unfairly 62%**

Is there anything in your past that might keep you from being a candidate for President or Vice President?

**Yes 31%**  
**No 62%**



### DESIRE FOR CHANGE

% who would like to see the next President follow policies different from the Reagan Administration's

The growth in Bush's popularity coincides with a decline in the number of those who want a radical departure from the Reagan era. Voters still want change, but in small doses.

### FAMILIARITY

How much do you feel you know about each candidate and the kind of President he would be?

	Dukakis	Bush
A lot of things	15%	30%
Some things	34%	40%
Not much at all	50%	29%

Even among those Democrats polled, 47% say they do not know "much at all" about Dukakis or the type of President he would be.

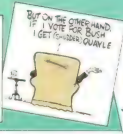
### NEGATIVE VOTING

Are you voting for Dukakis because you are for him or because you are against Bush?

**For Dukakis/Bentsen 49%**  
**Against Bush/Quayle 43%**

Are you voting for Bush because you are for him or because you are against Dukakis?

**For Bush/Quayle 69%**  
**Against Dukakis/Bentsen 24%**







## Texas

29 electoral votes

**18% Hispanic  
11% black**

★ **No Democrat has ever won without Texas**

★ **Despite oil tycoons, income level below national average**

★ **Assessment**  
Bentsen's money machine and Dukakis' Hispanic *aficionados* could cut into heavy Bubba vote for Bush in his adopted state

**Mariachi serenade  
Bush in San Antonio**

# Battling over the Big Three

*How the race could be decided by a few blocs in a few places*



It may be called a national election, but a presidential contest is really a set of 50 simultaneous state elections.

And the grand prize goes to the candidate who can put together victories in the right combination of states to win the magic 270 electoral votes. In recent years, that has been easy for Republicans, given their virtual lock on the electoral votes of the South and West. But this year Michael Dukakis and George Bush start from a near standoff in the number of electoral votes represented by states solidly for them or leaning their way. So the election seems likely to be won (or lost) in a handful of battleground states, especially the Big Three of Texas, Illinois and California. Together they cast 100 electoral votes, or 37% of the total needed for victory. It is difficult to see how either candidate can gain the White House without winning at least two. And in all three, the race opens as a toss-up.

## Texas

University of Houston Political Scientist Richard Murray thinks he knows what will decide the election in the Lone Star State. Says he: "The key is, Can the Democrats survive the social-issues pounding and make the economy issue stick?" That is probably the No. 1 question all over the country, but it is especial-

ly pointed in Texas. The state is highly receptive to Bush's conservative appeals on such issues as abortion, gun control, prison furloughs and the Pledge of Allegiance: in Texas rifle racks can rank with the flag as badges of honor. "If we allow that to be the agenda, we will get beat," concedes Democratic Strategist Greg Hartman.

But Texas, though beginning to recover from a severe oil, real estate and banking slump, is still depressed enough in some areas to deny Bush half of the peace-and-prosperity theme he is pushing elsewhere and to open at least some ears to Dukakis' time-for-a-change argument. While the unemployment rate has dropped to 6.8%, it is well above the national average of 5.6%. Texas continues to reel from bank closings—93 as of last week—and failures of savings and loan associations. Says Luan Tatum, Democratic chair in Angelina County: "I watch the TV and hear them talking about how good things are for folks, but it's not here."

In one way, Texas is a microcosm of the whole election. The Bush and Dukakis camps readily agree that the decision of those Democrats who voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984 will be crucial nationally. Texas has as many of these so-called Reagan Democrats as any other state, and like the electorate at large, they seem to be torn. For Tommy

Rushing, pausing after changing a tire in his Lufkin garage, the economic issue is paramount. Says he: "I'm going to have to go with Dukakis. The Republicans don't have anything to show." About 150 miles to the west in the farm town of Hillsboro, Haberdasher James Scott is equally determined in his decision to stick with the G.O.P. His view: "Dukakis is just out of touch with Texas."

In another respect, however, Texas is certainly not typical: it is the only state to have both an adopted son (Bush) and a native son (Senator Lloyd Bentsen, Dukakis' vice-presidential nominee) on the ballot. Bentsen has so far been especially effective in reassuring Texans who worry about Dukakis' liberalism that at least one voice in the candidate's ear understands and speaks for conservative Texas social values. In addition, Bentsen brings to the ticket two powerful assets: a grass-roots organization throughout Texas' 254 counties and a pile of money. Bentsen is simultaneously running for re-election to the Senate and for Vice President. (If elected to both offices, he will resign his Senate seat.) He may spend as much as \$10 million promoting his senatorial candidacy. That sum will not count against the legal limits on presidential campaign spending, but inevitably Dukakis will get at least some indirect benefit from his run-



## Nation

ning mate's well-financed self-promotion.

There are whispers that Republicans may try to offset Bentsen's appeal by in effect dumping his hopeless senatorial opponent and surreptitiously urging voters to cast their ballots for Bush for President. Bentsen for Senator. Officially, though, the G.O.P. strategy is to ignore Bentsen and concentrate on painting Dukakis as a liberal outsider. Bush allies have drafted some 50 different appeals to specific groups of Texans to be banged home by local TV commercials and direct mail. In Abilene, for example, where B-1 bombers are based, the G.O.P. will charge incorrectly that Dukakis may scrap the program: messages beamed to the predominantly Roman Catholic Hispanics in the Rio

Salinas, who heads Hispanics for Bush. "Guns, abortion, patriotism—these are cutting issues against Dukakis with Hispanics." But low-income Hispanics also respond to Dukakis' economic appeal. Furthermore, Dukakis speaks Spanish fluently. Dour as he seems to some other groups, he comes close to exuding charisma among Hispanics.

Both sides are concentrating their heaviest artillery in Texas. Republicans are recruiting a legion of 50,000 volunteers, and have already begun operating the first of 52 phone banks. Democrats have opened 30 offices across the state and made phone calls to more than a million swing voters. This month alone Bush plans to spend eight days in Texas; Dukakis

year though; in all three regions, some special factors are at work.

In Chicago the question is how much racial polarization and disunity among the blacks, who make up slightly more than half the city's population, will hurt the Democrats. The legendary machine that used to pile up the vote did not survive its creator, Mayor Richard Daley, who died in 1976. Harold Washington, Chicago's first black mayor, was on the way to constructing a new machine when he died of a heart attack last fall. His successor, Acting Mayor Eugene Sawyer, has been unable to rally the same support. Chicago's black community is sharply divided on whether to back Sawyer or someone else in a possible mayoral election next year. No one expects any significant number of blacks to vote Republican, but Dukakis may suffer from the lack of a united black leadership urging its followers to get out and vote for the Democratic nominee.

On the other side, white ethnic resentment of the black takeover of city politics is embodied in Edward ("Fast Eddie") Vrdolyak, a prominent former alderman who quit the Democratic Party, charging that it "had become the place for kooks and crazies," and who now enthusiastically backs Bush. Opinions differ on how much his turnout matters. Some Democrats regard him as a windbag with little following. But Ed Murnane, Republican director in Illinois, asserts that "Vrdolyak brought many, many voters over with him, and they are going to stay."

In the Republican collar counties, Dukakis enjoys one advantage that previous Democratic nominees did not. David Axelrod, strategist for a number of Democratic congressional campaigns, points out that Dukakis is a suburbanite and so is "comfortable with suburban voters. He thinks the way they think. He has a chance to hold the Republican margin down there." But Axelrod concedes that this will happen only if Dukakis can prevent the campaign from becoming "a liberal-conservative referendum." Dukakis is cast by the Republicans as a Carter liberal. What we need to do is to get back to one man's family, whose forebears came through Ellis Island, not on the Mayflower.

Downstate, the campaign is an uncertain face-off between Bush's stress on social issues and Dukakis' appeal to economic discontent. Illinois Democratic Director Stephen Murphy asserts that industrial cities such as Decatur, Rockford and Peoria "are the holes in the Swiss

### Illinois

24 electoral votes

13% black  
5% Hispanic

★ This century, every President but two has won it

★ Nation's chief soybean producer

★ Ranks first in the nation in export of agricultural products

★ Assessment Outcome depends on whether Chicago strife prevents big Democratic turnout

The "Duke express" in Belleville, Ill.



Grande Valley will stress Bush's opposition to abortion. Dukakis will counter by assailing the Administration's "borrow-and-spend" economics and accuse it of failing the oil-and-gas industry. He is further appealing to conservative values by blasting the Republicans' failure to win the war on drugs.

Geographically, the Republicans can count on winning the Dallas-Fort Worth area, rural West Texas and the Panhandle. Democrats hope to split Houston with the G.O.P. and roll up a huge margin in South Texas. If so, the campaign will be decided in the small towns of central and East Texas, home to the bulk of the state's 2 million swing voters, a quarter of the total. But there is a demographic codicil: the Democratic margin in South Texas' Rio Grande Valley depends heavily on retaining the loyalty of Hispanic voters, who are being assiduously courted by Bush. "Name me a Hispanic who doesn't like to hunt in South Texas," says Rancher Tony

kis and Bentsen together will match that. Moreover, the G.O.P. will bring in Reagan for at least one appearance. Says Democratic Party Director Ed Martin: "Texas is going to be an absolute war, block by block, precinct by precinct."

### Illinois

Electorally, the Prairie State, like Caesar's Gaul, is divided into three parts. First come Chicago and the other towns in Cook County, which deliver about 25% of the vote, usually overwhelmingly Democratic. Then there are the five heavily suburban "collar counties" ringing Chicago, which account for about 35% of Illinois ballots. Republicans often win them by margins wide enough to offset the Democratic edge in Chicago. And then there is "downstate," a misnomer applied to 96 counties, north, south and west, agricultural and industrial, rural and small town, where Illinois elections are often decided. Not necessarily this



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cheese. Those cities never recovered from the 1982 recession." Gregory Baise, state secretary of transportation and a liaison between Republican Governor James Thompson and the Bush staff, concedes that among Illinois farmers, already hostile to the Administration, "there's an added kicker, the drought, and we just don't know how that will work out."

On the other hand, Bruce Cook, Democratic state central committeeman for St. Clair County, recalls a coal miner telling him that "once a guy makes \$30,000 a year, he buys a riding lawn mower and votes Republican." These voters, many of them Reagan Democrats, are conservative on social issues. Cook admits that Dukakis' veto of a compulsory Pledge of Allegiance to the flag is not going to help. But he counters by asserting, "Dan Quayle really hurts Bush with these people. They are macho, patriotic people who are working really hard to send their kids to college," qualities they do not associate with Bush's running mate. In Illinois as a whole, nobody would dispute Democrat Murphy's summation, "This is a battleground state, and it is going to be close to the end."

## California

During a televised debate before last June's primary, Dukakis was asked what he found distinctive about the Golden State. He replied by expounding on the universal applicability of the "Massachusetts miracle," as if he discerned little that was special about California. He seems to see it as a bigger and sunnier version of Massachusetts—more eccentric, perhaps, but still a coastal industrial state, strong on high tech and higher education, prosperous but pocked with poverty and anxious about the future.

Bush and his advisers, not a few of whom hail from California, see a very different state: one peopled by wealthy retirees. Yuppie venture capitalists and tax-hating suburbanites, as well as socially conservative farmers and truck drivers. Their vision, like that of Dukakis, leaves out a good deal, but it probably describes more of what the state is all about. Which is why California's 47 electoral votes as of now are widely regarded as being Bush's to lose.

He could indeed lose them. In fact, at least two of Bush's top advisers predict—strictly off the record and perhaps in a sly effort to lower expectations—that he will. But in the past two months, Dukakis' once commanding lead in the California polls has disappeared, shrinking from 16 points to a statistically meaningless 1 point. One reason: several of the social issues Bush has been hammering on (opposition to new taxes and gun control, approval of the death penalty) have already been endorsed overwhelmingly by California voters in recent ballot initiatives. Republicans have greatly increased their registration and popularity over the past ten years. Polls show that the percentage of respondents who now consider themselves Republicans, 45%, exactly matches

the percentage of those who identify themselves as Democrats. Moreover, eight years of Republican defense spending have showered benefits on California's biggest business, aerospace. Bush is courting the industry, while Dukakis talks of holding down defense outlays.

Why, then, might Bush blow it? One reason is personality. Decisive though the Vice President has appeared since the Republican Convention, Bush backers fear a relapse into the reedy-voiced, diffident aristocrat who thoroughly turned off Californians not long ago. Says Sal Russo, a Sacramento-based Republican consul-

viser, "The instinct for change is stronger in California than in any other state." Suburbanites may still be generally anti-tax, but their allegiance is being divided by other concerns. They are worried about haphazard commercial growth in residential neighborhoods, gridlocked traffic and parking shortages, air pollution, poor schools—all problems that seem to call for the governmental solutions that Democrats traditionally favor and Republicans oppose.

These offsetting appeals are likely to produce about 4 million votes for Bush among registered Republicans, mostly in

## California

47 electoral votes

16% Hispanic  
7% black  
5% Asian

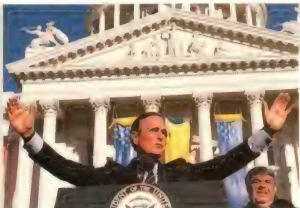
★ No Republican this century has won without it

★ Supported every Republican since 1948, except Goldwater

★ Economy based on manufacturing and farming more than show biz

★ Assessment Bush has support from Reagan and Deukmejian, but desire for change bodes well for Dukakis

Rallies with ethnic students



tant: "This state is not hospitable to a patrician candidate, and it's a potential problem having two blue bloods on the ticket." Adds a prominent Republican in the Central Valley: "The preppie image doesn't sell very well around here. Unfortunately, the reason Bush has a preppie image is that he is a preppie."

In contrast, Dukakis, despite his own aloofness, has at least a chance to come across to suburbanites, in California as in Illinois, as one of them. Says Political Consultant Hank Morris: "California is almost all suburbs, so there is a great opportunity for Dukakis to emphasize that he is the first presidential nominee to grow up in the suburbs and to stay there, commuting to work and moving the lawn and knowing the concerns of suburbanites."

More substantively, says a Bush ad-

vertiser, "The instinct for change is stronger in California than in any other state." Suburbanites may still be generally anti-tax, but their allegiance is being divided by other concerns. They are worried about haphazard commercial growth in residential neighborhoods, gridlocked traffic and parking shortages, air pollution, poor schools—all problems that seem to call for the governmental solutions that Democrats traditionally favor and Republicans oppose.

These offsetting appeals are likely to produce about 4 million votes for Bush among registered Republicans, mostly in

affluent suburbs, and an equivalent base for Dukakis among the 4 million Democrats who voted for Walter Mondale in 1984, most of whom live in big cities. The election may be decided among Democrats in the suburbs, and in the Central Valley, the richest agricultural region in the U.S. (estimated value of its vegetables, nuts, grapes and cotton: \$15 billion a year). The valley is home to 1.3 million voters, many of them transplants from the Southern states, who register 3 to 2 Democratic but voted heavily for Reagan in 1980 and 1984. Says Bill Lacy, head of Bush's California campaign: "The people in the Central Valley can be appealed to like Southern conservatives: on crime, the death penalty, prison furloughs, gun control." Bush will also stress Dukakis' endorsement of a 1985 grape boycott called by United Farm Workers Leader Cesar



Chavez, a stand popular with Latino farmhands, who mostly do not vote, but anathema to farm owners and their suppliers, who do.

Dukakis has been emphasizing such issues as the inability of many young couples to afford a home or reliable child care, even on two paychecks. And he is getting a friendly response from many people in the Central Valley who, like the middle class all over the country, are feeling squeezed. Michael Archer, 42, drives a scrap truck for a rendering plant, while his wife Janie works as a waitress in a coffee shop. Their three children, two boys and a girl in their 20s, are all married with

children and all working at dead-end jobs: grocery clerk, bartender, waitress. "You can't raise a family on what they make," says Archer, "but those are the only kinds of jobs the kids can get around here." Archer pronounces Dukakis' name "Dista-kis" and admits that he knows little about the Massachusetts Governor except that "he reminds me of a Kennedy"—and he does not intend that as a compliment. Though he and Janie voted for Reagan twice, Archer says they "most likely" will vote for Dukakis this year because "I'd like to see some kind of change."

One problem for both Dukakis and Bush is that campaigning in California,

home of some of the nation's most expensive media markets, is extremely costly. Campaigns for Governor and Senator routinely cost \$10 million or more per candidate. Neither presidential contender can afford to spend that much in a single state, even the nation's biggest. Dukakis and Bush are both counting on "free media." That is, they hope to stage enough colorful events to land regularly on the nightly TV news and thus get their message across to a state that is a must-win—and a toss-up—for both.

—By George J. Church.  
Reported by Dan Goodgame/Fresno, Michael Riley and Richard Woodbury/Houston and Gavin Scott/Chicago

## Grapevine



**Plan of attack.** At a California rally, a top George Bush adviser was accosted by a friend who

suggested the Veep should attack Michael Dukakis harder for raising taxes in Massachusetts. Replied the adviser: "I think that's the third week in September." As another aide says, "We have a detailed master plan from now until Nov. 8." Each week is designated for a new line of attack. Last week, for example, was spent by Bush bashing Dukakis on the environment. Dukakis, these aides believe, squandered his ammunition too early. His repeated attacks on Bush's involvement with Panama's Manuel Noriega, for example, have received little attention.

**Brier-patch expectations.** Bush Campaign Chairman James Baker's refusal to commit his man to debate dates prompted Dukakis to squeal last week that the Vice President was ducking him. That was exactly what Bush advisers hoped for. The outcome of debates depends less on substance than on whether a candidate performs better or worse than expectations. Last week's exchange was part of a concerted Bush effort to lower expectations. "Now everybody is thinking that Bush can't possibly compete," says an aide. "Dukakis walked right into our trap."

**Titanic effort.** After four years of planning, a group of businessmen has organized an expedition to recover the torpedo bomber that Bush was flying over the Pacific when he was shot down by the Japanese in 1944. The salvagers, who plan to televise the recovery, claim that the election-year timing is "coincidental."

**Uneasy photo op.** When Jesse Jackson went ahead last week with a "peace session" with New York City Mayor Ed Koch, organized by Governor Mario Cuomo to help expunge the bitter aftertaste of April's raucous primary, his advisers split



An awkward handshake between Koch and Jackson

over whether he should appear with the mayor for photos. He compromised by adopting a root-canals expression throughout. When the mayor took advantage of the situation by extending his hand for a quick—and not-agreed-upon—handshake, Jackson accepted it like an offer of a dirty sock.

**Paula's date.** It's been a long time since Tom Evans, the former Delaware Congressman who dallied in Florida with shapely Lobbyist Paula Parkinson eight years ago, has heard kind words from fellow Republicans. But when Dan Quayle, who shared the Florida house that weekend, was tapped for the ticket, Evans

came to the rescue by giving interviews in New Orleans absolving Quayle of doing anything more athletic than playing golf. Though Republicans were at first wary of Evans' emergence, many have phoned to praise him for helping clear Quayle. Others are more circumspect: Quayle has not called, and when Bush visited Delaware last week Evans was not invited.

**Piggyback piggy bank.** For months, thousands of people have been getting urgent letters from Americans for Bush asking for contributions. What many don't realize is that the official-looking mailings and enclosed bumper stickers have nothing to do with Bush's campaign. In fact, Americans for Bush is an offshoot of the obscure National Security Political Action Committee, a group run by a woman named Elizabeth Feday, who until recently operated out of her living room in Washington. On the bottom of the solicitation letters, in very fine print, is a disclaimer noting that the group is not affiliated with any candidate. So far, N.S.P.A.C. has raised \$3 million and has bought \$300,000 of airtime for pro-Bush ads. Sometimes such "independent" groups provide a convenient way of skirting federal

spending limits, but the Bush campaign has filed formal complaints. "They're actively misleading the public into believing that they're being solicited by George Bush," says Campaign Counsel Ede Holiday. "They've established a pattern of preying on the elderly. Some people are confused." Feday denies the Bush campaign's charges.





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Campaign Manager Estrich makes room for the return of Dukakis' political alter ego

## The Rebirth of John Sasso

*An indispensable sidekick rides to the rescue*

**HELP WANTED:** Savvy, hard-nosed strategist desperately needed to jump-start stalled campaign. Experience in overcoming innate caution of button-down Greek candidate a must. Prior misdemeanors no problem. For the right stuff, we will take public guff. Contact Dukakis campaign.

**T**hat job description could apply to only one person: John Sasso, 41, the shrewd political operative with an engaging smile and an easy pat-on-the-back manner. For eleven months Sasso had been in purgatory, defrocked as Dukakis' campaign manager for his role in preparing the plagiarism videotape that helped drive Joseph Biden out of the Democratic race. Dukakis had promised that Sasso would play no further role in his campaign. But each time Dukakis stumbled there were new rumors of a resurrection. Last week, as the overconfidence of August gave way to the desperation of September, the summons finally came. "Almost a year ago, John Sasso made a very serious mistake," Dukakis told reporters. "He has paid the price."

So had the candidate whom Sasso had, perhaps too loyally, served. In arranging for an emotional homecoming, the self-reliant Dukakis all but acknowledged that Sasso is the indispensable man. The team of Chairman Paul Brontas and Campaign Manager Susan Estrich had proved adept at directing a safe, within-the-speed-limit strategy that befitted the candidate's personality. But since the Republican Convention, they had been pinned down by the furious fusillades from George Bush. There was no effective counterattack and no coherent battle plan—just a forlorn candidate clinging to the showman themes that had carried him through the primaries.

Last Tuesday night Dukakis summoned Brontas and Sasso to his home in Brookline, Mass. By the end of the evening

the decision was made to welcome the errant surrogate son back into the fold. Sasso was awarded the purposely ambiguous title of vice chairman of the campaign. But in effect the campaign structure was altered to allow each member of the ruling troika to do what he or she does best. Sasso will become the dominant figure, mapping strategy and massaging Democratic political leaders. Brontas, who combines political inexperience with mature judgment and long friendship with Dukakis, will provide the balm of lawyerly calm wherever needed. And Estrich, who insists she is "delighted" by Sasso's return, remains in charge of the day-to-day campaign.

Sasso engineered Dukakis' comeback crusade as Governor in 1982, and the emotional bond between the totally dissimilar men remains strong. Though far from an articulate intellectual, Sasso has a gift for analytic thinking. A street kid from New Jersey, he is canny about people and comfortable with concepts and broad strategies. Through his two national campaigns, with Ted Kennedy and Geraldine Ferraro, he developed an army of political contacts, and he deals easily with politicians.

There are certain to be Republican charges that Dukakis has turned his campaign over to a certified dirty trickster. In truth, Sasso's misdeeds were exaggerated by the Goody Two Shoes moralism of the early Democratic contests. The Biden videotape merely coupled the Senator's public words with those of his rhetorical twin, British Labor Party Leader Neil Kinnock. A more serious breach was Sasso's ill-advised effort to keep the truth about his role from Dukakis. But there is a long political tradition of forgiving transgressions—especially when the candidate doing the forgiving suddenly finds himself lagging in the polls.

—By Walter Shapiro.  
Reported by Robert Ajemian/Boston and Joelle Attinger with Dukakis

## Coup Maker

*The U.S. places its Panama bets on a cashiered colonel*

**A**fter supporting Panama's General Manuel Noriega for nearly five years, the Reagan Administration turned against him last February, when the swaggering strongman was indicted on drug-smuggling charges by two Florida grand juries. Since then Washington has tried and failed to force Noriega out with economic sanctions and to shift power to a civilian government headed by ousted President Eric Arturo Delvalle. Now, it seems, the State Department is focusing on a different man and a different strategy. The man, Lieut. Colonel Eduardo Herrera Hassan, a 20-year veteran of the Panamanian Defense Forces and a former Ambassador to Israel. The strategy: to encourage a coup within the Panamanian military.

While U.S. officials deny that Herrera is getting direct American help, they praise him as a bright and honest soldier who is committed to a professional rather than a political military force. A senior Administration official says with approval, "Noriega considers him a threat."

Herrera, 46, who is rumored to be either in Costa Rica or at a U.S. air base in Panama, has used clandestine radio appeals and fax messages to invite senior military officers to join him in a coup. These colonels are thought to be opposed to Noriega's acceptance of Cuban advisers and weapons, as well as \$20 million in Libyan aid. Many enlisted men, unhappy about poor pay and the corruption above them, are also receptive.


Yet Herrera faces serious obstacles. For one thing, Noriega is well aware of his rival's moves, and has dismissed him from the military. Noriega has already stifled one overt coup attempt and nipped other plans. He and seven loyalists known as the "Magnificent Seven" constitute a ruthless faction eager to continue profiting from drugs and corruption.

Herrera's image in Panama is another handicap. A nephew of the late Panamanian Dictator Omar Torrijos, he led military crackdowns against civilian protesters in the former Canal Zone in the 1960s. Called home from Israel by Noriega last year to help repress demonstrations, he did so with what some considered an overly strong hand. Still, if Herrera could topple Noriega and keep the military out of politics while a democratic government emerged, that would more than satisfy U.S. interests. It might also be something of a miracle.



Lieut. Colonel Herrera





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A full-page photograph of a man with dark hair, smiling broadly. He is wearing a dark suit jacket, a white dress shirt with thin vertical stripes, and a dark tie with a light-colored paisley pattern. He has his hands on his hips. The background is dark and out of focus.

**MEN'S CLOTHING IN THE WORLD.**





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## Biden Is Also Reborn

*"Had I remained in the race, I'd be dead"*

Joseph Biden and his family are in their Jeep Wagoneer driving through Cape Henlopen State Park to the annual gathering of the state's Democrats. Nothing as far as the eye can see spoils this strip of beach, which the Delaware Senator reclaimed from the military for his state, the site where he announced his first run for the Senate in 1972. Carrying plastic lawn chairs and coolers, more than a thousand Democrats are pouring into the park, twice as many as have ever come to the party get-together in the past. As three

eign policy hearings this Wednesday, before he grants any interviews, he wanted to come to the place where it all began so that he could begin again.

Biden is listening as Senate Candidate Sam Beard introduces him, recalling the night he got a call from the state police accompanying Biden's ambulance saying "We don't think he's going to make it." Biden whispers to his wife Jill, "Neither did I." He takes her onto the podium with him, along with his kids, although he says he "usually does not go in for that type of

ically injured. He considered giving up his seat, but his family rallied around him. His sister moved into the Wilmington house to take care of the boys, and he began his daily three-hour round-trip commute to the Capitol.

His next few years in the Senate were not memorable, but when he remarried in 1977, the cloud lifted and he began enjoying his work. By the start of the current presidential campaign, he was one of the most promising Democratic contenders. But he withdrew before the first primary when allegations of résumé bloating and plagiarism surfaced, saying "I have only myself to be angry with."

He looks back not in anger but in wonder at how fate has its way with a man. "There is no doubt—the doctors have no doubt—that had I remained in the race, I'd be dead," he says. A headache, which he thought was a pinched nerve, came during what would have been his peak campaigning time in Iowa. Had he still been running, he says, he would have toughed it out.

On Feb. 11 he went to a doctor in Wilmington, who discovered an aneurysm, a weakening in an artery supplying blood to the brain; the artery was already leaking. Biden was rushed to Walter Reed Army Medical Center for eight hours of cranial surgery, which many patients do not survive. Lying completely still in intensive care afterward led to the development of a blood clot on his lung, which required an operation to implant a filter in a vein. In May he was back on the operating table, for surgery on a second aneurysm. It was a hellish time, but he is completely recovered. "The good news is that I can do anything I did before. The bad news is that I can't do anything better."

The event is winding down, and Biden, the quick-smiling Irish-Catholic politician, kisses and jokes his way back to the Jeep. He seems to know who among the women in pantsuits sent the fruit baskets, who the flowers. He calls out to George Collins, who brought a truckload of watermelons from his farm, to save one for him.

He planned to refuse all interviews because he wanted to keep the day "personal, just between me and the folks who have been with me for 16 years." But in the pitch-black darkness he talks about how the past seven months have changed him. A man who always thought he spent a lot of time with his kids found out "I really hadn't. I knew I had reached a new level with them when after a month with me at home they cried, 'Oh, no. Dad, not Ragú again!'" About his run for the presidency, he says, "It just wasn't my time. Thank God, because it saved my life." He wakes up each morning to "my second chance in life," looking back at how far he has come instead of grasping for the next rung on the ladder, satisfied, grateful, to be a U.S. Senator. "I'm alive. I'm well. My family is happy. I do something I love." More than enough for anyone. —By Margaret Carlson



Biden returns to the Delaware shore for the "most important event" of his public life

*After seven months of pain and reflection, he's grateful for a second chance*

generations of Bidens alight—his mother, father, sister, wife and two of his three children—the Senator is swamped by friends and the curious, all straining to get a glimpse of the man who vanished from sight seven months ago. In a blazer and an open-neck shirt that reveals a tiny scar, he looks like the healthiest person here, trim, energetic and tan. He makes his way to a picnic bench, where he waits his turn to speak at what he calls the "most important event in my public life."

Hyperbolic, perhaps, coming from a man whose public life over the past year has included announcing his candidacy and then dropping out of the race for President and chairing the judiciary committee hearings that denied former Solicitor General Robert Bork a seat on the Supreme Court. But this is Biden's first event since February, when he was felled by a life-threatening brain aneurysm. Before he returns to Washington, before he bangs the gavel to open an important set of for-

stuff." His talk is simple, without the oratory that made his presidential campaign speeches soar but created doubts that this ambitious young Senator meant what he said. He talks of coming through his ordeal "unscathed but not ungrateful" and of how his wife took charge when that "stab of fear" hit him in the ambulance. There are no tears until he starts talking about his oldest son's inauspicious first year at college, seeing his father the presidential candidate on television regularly for the first four months, not always favorably, then commuting between the University of Pennsylvania and his father's bedside for the next four months. "He's become a man. He's no longer a boy."

Biden first looked death in the face during the heady period after his 1972 election to the Senate at age 29. His wife and three children were returning from buying a Christmas tree in Wilmington when a truck hit them. His wife and infant daughter died; his two sons were crit-



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## Education: Getting What You Pay For

By Jack E. White



*This is the first in a series of articles that will attempt to stimulate debate by examining the issues facing the next President, exploring solutions and analyzing how the candidates are dealing with them.*

An appalling number of America's schools are atrocious.

Study after depressing study confirms what has been painfully obvious to millions of parents, teachers, prospective employers and students. Every year our schools turn out more than a million young adults who cannot keep up with the intellectual demands of an increasingly technological economy or with their counterparts in Western Europe and Japan. In addition to the 700,000 who, despite twelve years of what passes for formal education, have such poor reading skills that they cannot digest a newspaper or fill out a job application, an identical number drop out, forfeiting whatever educational benefits might be osmotically obtained from simply showing up for class.

Far too many inner-city schools are less centers of learning than custodial institutions complete with wardens (principals) and guards (teachers) striving to control a mob of prisoners (students), some so preoccupied with the three Cs—crack, crime and casual sex—that they have no time for the three Rs. But the educational blight is not confined to underclass ghettos and barrios. Despite efforts to upgrade the math skills of U.S. students, a recent survey indicates that nearly half of American 17-year-olds cannot perform simple calculations that are normally learned in junior high school. Other surveys have documented equally dreary student performance in reading, writing and critical thinking. So ill equipped is the current crop of high school graduates that U.S. corporations spend \$25 billion a year for remedial training programs for new employees on whom state, local and federal agencies have already lavished \$130 billion in an attempt to teach them to read, write and cipher.

As the Department of Education warned in 1983, a foreign power scheming to weaken America could not have concocted a more insidious plot than the debasement of public education. The threat to U.S. security ranges from the fact that nearly a quarter of military recruits cannot understand written safety instructions to the growing shortage of students in science and engineering. At the dawn of a new era of international competition, less than one-quarter of public high school students are currently

enrolled in a foreign-language course. The bulk of American students cannot locate the world's most important nations on a map if their lives depend on it, which, in a sense, they do.

Each new revelation of the flunking performance of many U.S. students provokes a loud outcry for tougher standards, better instruction, classroom innovations. So far, all the noise has had shockingly limited impact on what actually goes on in the schools. Most high schools still do not require students to meet widely accepted standards for math and science. On the average, a student takes only 2.3 credits in math and 2 in science to graduate, instead of the 3 credits in each subject recommended by the National Commission on Excellence in Education.

Seldom has there been such a clear-cut case for presidential leadership. But judging by their performances on the campaign trail thus far, Michael Dukakis and George Bush deserve no more than a marginal grade for their proposals for rescuing America's schools. Like Hare Krishnas entrancing themselves by chanting a euphonious phrase, both candidates repeat the frugal mantra of the Gramm-Rudman age: no new taxes, no new social programs, no bold initiatives from the Federal Government. So fearful are they of angering taxpayers that their timid proposals appear more concerned with holding down federal spending than with mounting the comprehensive policies that a solution to the educational crisis demands.

Both Bush and Dukakis have avoided the reality that a huge new investment by the Federal Government is needed to rebuild America's schools because the sums required are beyond the reach of local governments that depend on property taxes or the private sector. There is remarkably little dispute about what is necessary: better textbooks, better facilities and above all restoration of the prestige of teachers by paying them more and improving their working conditions. What remains at issue is how to pay for these worthy objectives and which other goals might have to be sacrificed to raise the required funds.

After loudly declaring his desire to be known as the "education President," Bush seems to have forgotten the subject. On those occasions when he has proffered specifics, Bush has put forth sound, if not exciting, ideas.

He would establish a \$500 million program to provide







awards of \$100,000 to individual schools that show a marked reduction in dropout rates or improvement in test scores. An additional \$50 million would be given to states for matching grants to create or support magnet schools, which offer special programs not generally available in other schools. A third program would grant \$1 million to each state to experiment with raising teacher pay, creating a year-round curriculum or allowing parents to enroll their child in any school within a system.

But the Vice President's plans run headlong into a contradiction: although he supports efforts to raise standards for teachers and students nationally, he insists the funds to support such efforts come almost exclusively from state and local governments. He would raise federal expenditures for education less than \$1 billion a year—a third of what the Reagan Administration proposes to spend on Star Wars. That is tantamount to fighting a war with local police forces while the U.S. Army sits on the sidelines.

Dukakis has proclaimed his intention to become the "No. 1 advocate for good schools and good teaching." He would create a \$250 million national teaching excellence fund to finance the college tuitions of students who become teachers and revive the national teacher corps to give recent college graduates a taste of the classroom. He would establish "field centers" of teaching and learning for veteran teachers, ask businesses to encourage their employees to accept temporary assignments as teachers, and establish levels of teacher competence similar to those that govern doctors and lawyers.

Dukakis has not put a price tag on his educational proposals or stated in detail how he would pay for them. Some of his ideas, moreover, simply do not stand up. Few businesses are likely to permit capable workers to leave their jobs in mid-career for three- to five-year teaching sabbaticals. Dukakis' plan to expand the so-called Boston Compacts and Genesis Programs—in which wealthy individuals and businesses seek to motivate high schoolers by promising a job or college scholarship to each graduate—is doomed to failure in areas lacking either a surplus of good jobs or a willing philanthropist. His notion of asking investment bankers and college administrators to devise investment programs that will allow families to set aside funds today against the cost of their children's college educations will do little or nothing for the poorest Americans.

The rhetoric notwithstanding, neither Bush nor Dukakis has made the conceptual breakthrough that would permit the U.S. to fashion the school system it deserves. While looking through different lenses, both seem to view federal education spending as a frilly, bloated social program rather than as a vital national-security program at least equal in priority to maintaining strong armed forces. During the Reagan years, despite growing concern about huge deficits, the largest peacetime military buildup in the nation's history boosted spending for defense 37% in inflation-adjusted dollars to annual levels of nearly \$300 billion. Federal outlays for elementary and secondary education were reduced nearly 20% during the same period. Given that history, perhaps the next President ought to consider assigning the task of shepherding through his education-spending plan to the Secretary of Defense, who has had far more luck in sparing his requests from the budgeteer's ax. There is ample precedent for treating education as a national-defense issue. In the panic that followed the Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik in 1957, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act, which vastly expanded federal support for science, math and foreign-language instruction in public schools.

The U.S. Government's role in education policy, unlike that of its foreign competitors, is strictly curtailed by the Constitution. That encourages innovation at the state and local level, which, in such states as New Jersey and South Carolina, has yielded impressive gains in educational performance. Nevertheless, there are many ways in which the Federal Government can assist financially pressed school systems without unduly intruding into such thorny issues as the exact courses in a curriculum. The objective of federal policy should be to relieve school systems of burdens they cannot manage well while depriving them of excuses for failing to accomplish their stated purpose—the effective education of young people. A number of realistic proposals that go far beyond anything Bush and Dukakis have put forth have been on the table. Among them:

**Underwrite the cost of physically maintaining schools.** No student can be expected to thrive in a dingy, dilapidated classroom. Yet many school districts, especially the 600 largest, which enroll 40% of all public-school students, lack the ability to raise sufficient taxes or sell enough bonds to keep their schools up to standard. The Federal Government should make no-interest loans available to tear down or rebuild old buildings and replace them with smaller, more attractive units. School systems would not be permitted to pocket the savings but, in exchange for the aid, would be required to shift their current expenditures for maintenance into areas directly related to education—higher teacher salaries and reduced class sizes. It would cost \$4.5 billion to renovate every school in New York City.

**Expand Head Start and Chapter 1 programs.** For the past two decades, the Federal Government has supported Head Start programs, which provide educational and medical services for disadvantaged preschoolers, and Chapter 1, which offers remedial help for those in higher grades. Both have repeatedly been shown to be beneficial and cost-effective. An annual

\$500 investment in Head Start, for example, makes it less likely that a child will repeat a grade—at an average cost to the community of \$3,000. Currently, only one out of five eligible children is enrolled in Head Start, and Chapter 1 programs reach only half of those who qualify. The cost of making them available to every child who needs them: \$11 billion annually.

**Write off college loans for graduates who go into teaching.** No program for reviving public education can succeed until better-qualified students are willing to become teachers. One way to accomplish this would be to forgive the college indebtedness of top students who spend three to five years in the public schools. Academic underachievers need not apply. To qualify, students should be in the upper third of their graduating classes and major in subjects that are most in need of able teachers: math, sciences, computer technology and foreign languages. Annual cost: \$500 million.

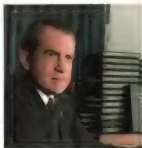
Obviously, enacting any or all of these approaches would be costly and entail hard choices. But making such decisions is a President's job. For the \$3.6 billion cost of one nuclear aircraft-carrier task force, of which the U.S. already has five, the country could pay the full four-year tuitions of 90,000 private-college students. By forgoing one year's cost of living increase in Social Security benefits, the U.S. could raise the average salary of the nation's 2.3 million public schoolteachers by \$3,260. The question the next President must decide is which of these expenditures will make the U.S. stronger and do more to ensure its future economic vitality. In answering it, he should keep in mind one bit of folk wisdom: you get what you pay for.



## American Notes



PACIFIC NORTHWEST Tacoma landscape



THE WHITE HOUSE The President was a klutz



DRUGS Ganging up on the drug lords

### PACIFIC NORTHWEST

## This Land Was Our Land

What were once the ancestral lands of Washington State's Puyallup Indians are now worth nearly \$1 billion—the estimated value of downtown real estate, port facilities and private homes in the city of Tacoma (pop. 160,000). The tribe's holdings, however, have been reduced to less than 100 acres, and unemployment among the 1,400 tribe members stands at 70%.

But in a deal negotiated by Senator Daniel Inouye, chairman of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, the tribe has agreed to drop its claims to Tacoma in exchange for 900 acres of land and a trust fund that could generate as much as \$10,000 annually for every adult, plus \$61 million for a salmon fishery and a marine terminal. Each adult will also receive a \$20,000 cash grant. Says Frank Wright, a Puyallup administrator: "Now we have something that is ours; something we can grab on to."

### THE WHITE HOUSE

## Low-Tech Nixon

The tapes that prompted Richard Nixon's Watergate resignation in 1974 might never have existed had he not been

such a klutz with gadgets. Nixon was reluctant to have his conversations recorded, writes former Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman in *Prologue*, a National Archives publication. But if there had to be a taping system, the President said, he wanted something simple—like Lyndon Johnson's manually operated setup.

Haldeman was worried that his chief would forget to turn the gizmo on when he wanted it, or—worse—to turn it off when he didn't. Haldeman also fretted "that this President was far too inept with machinery ever to make a success of a switch system." The result: voice-activated tape recorders were installed in the Oval Office and the Cabinet Room, and at Camp David. Writes Haldeman: "I think Nixon lost his awareness of the system even more quickly than I did." The machines, of course, forgot nothing.

### NEW YORK CITY

## High-Stakes Hoopsters

For many ghetto kids, gaining self-esteem as a basketball player has been one way to escape the snare of drugs. But New York City police say that may no longer be a local option. The reason: drug lords are recruiting promising neighborhood players, offering them such inducements as cash and \$80 sneakers to play in sandlot tournaments on which

the dealers place big bets.

The extent of the playground takeover was dramatized recently when Gregory Vaughn, 33, a high school coach and former Queens College star, was asked to referee a neighborhood game. Vaughn, who had helped many youngsters develop their court skills as an incentive to go to college, made some calls that angered the gamblers. He was followed off the playground and fatally beaten by a known thug. The stakes in the contest were estimated at \$50,000.

### CRIME

## The Downfall Of Billy Bell

Bell Laboratories has long been proud of its thief-resistant pay telephone, boasting that the only way to break into it was to haul the whole contraption away and work on it with sledgehammers or explosives. According to the FBI, John Clark, 49, a former Ohio machinist who wears a shoulder-length ponytail and cowboy clothes, discovered otherwise. He is the only person known to have devised a tool that can pick pay-phone locks. It afforded him a comfortable, if itinerant, living. The FBI estimates that Clark, who sometimes used the alias Billy Bell, may have stolen as much as \$1 million in some 32 states over the past eight years.

The only problem with

Clark's pick was that it left distinctive marks, which enabled the FBI to follow his trail. His downfall came when he stayed too long in a residence in Buena Park, Calif. The feds caught up with him there last week and arrested him. They also confiscated his wondrous tool, and are hoping that he has not let anyone else in on his lucrative secret.

### DRUGS

## Supply-Side Blitz

The international assault on Latin America's illicit drug industry was unprecedented. In Operation Snowcap, made public only when it ended last week, antidrug forces from 30 nations cooperated for 28 days in a blitz on the dope trade—dynamiting airstrips, assaulting coca-processing operations, searching travelers. Among the participating nations were Belgium, Colombia, Ecuador, France, Britain, the U.S. and Venezuela. Results: 11 tons of cocaine and 244 tons of marijuana seized; 114 guns, 122 boats, planes and vehicles confiscated; 22 cocaine labs destroyed; and 1,267 arrests made. Yet no major kingpins were nailed. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh applauded the cooperation with an apt low-key assessment: "I don't think anybody's claiming that this is a success in the war on drugs. We are talking about an important avenue toward success."



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The Bigger Picture





Traveling at 350 m.p.h., members of the Italian Freccia Tricolori enter the last phase of the "arrow through the heart" maneuver



The "arrow" plane, arriving too low and too early, strikes at least one other craft and precipitates the disaster

## World

WEST GERMANY

# Hellfire from The Heavens

*A grisly air-show disaster kills at least 50 people and raises a transatlantic controversy*

**O**n summer weekends every year, U.S. and West European air bases throw open their gates to hundreds of thousands of spectators for air shows. The aeronautical extravaganzas are beloved by military officials as morale boosters and lures for potential recruits. The shows are equally appreciated by the public for the excitement, speed and spectacle. But all that glamour was blasted away last week during a few hellish minutes at the Ramstein U.S. Air Base in West Germany, about 70 miles southwest of Frankfurt.

Traveling at 350 m.p.h., three MB-339A jets of Italy's ten-member Freccia Tricolori (Tricolor Arrows) aerobatic team slammed together in a flash of smoke and fire 200 ft. above Ramstein's main runway. One brightly painted red-white-and-green aircraft plummeted to the tarmac, and another crashed in a nearby woods well away from the audience of some 300,000. The third burning jet cartwheeled straight into the middle of an area of concession stands and picnickers alongside the run-

way, spewing fire and airplane parts over tents, cars, barbecue grills—and people.

At first many spectators did not know what had happened. "I thought it was just some kind of special effect," said Victor Thompson, an airman stationed at Ramstein. Recalled another witness, U.S. Air Force Staff Sergeant John Hanagan: "There was a second explosion and more fire, and that's when people started running, screaming. I saw this little boy just standing there. His hair was all singed, and the skin was coming off his face. Nobody was helping him. We stopped the police, and they picked him up."

It was the worst air-show accident in history. All three pilots and at least 47 spectators were killed in the debacle. More than 360 people were injured, including many children.

Investigators late last week were still trying to determine precisely what went wrong. As they combed the wreckage site, a controversy erupted on both sides of the Atlantic over the safety rules governing air shows and the propriety of holding aerial







Ablaze and out of control, one of the three stricken MB-339A jets cartwheels toward spectators along the airfield runway



After slamming into the crowded area, the jet explodes in a deadly fireball; below, terrified observers attempt to flee







Girl, left, runs in terror from a van set on fire by crash debris



Medics and spectators minister to the injured, many of them burned

maneuvers of any kind near civilian populations. Many critics called for a complete ban on shows, citing a list of 13 accidents in Europe during the past six years that have taken the lives of more than 110 people, most of them civilians. A bare 25 minutes before the Ramstein accident, horrified spectators watched a Finnish pilot dive to his death at an air show near Hasselt, Belgium.

**T**elevision footage of the Ramstein calamity showed the gaily painted jets performing the "arrow through the heart," one of the flashiest and supposedly easiest of their drills. Nine of the jets split into two formations and flew loops forming a heart, while trailing red, white and green smoke. The tenth, piloted by Ivo Nutarelli, 38, arched down in a solo loop intended to take him through the bottom of the heart as the two formations passed each other beneath him.

Nutarelli arrived too low and perhaps a split second early. On some videotapes, it appeared that his landing gear was extended, and photographs shortly before the crash clearly show the left main gear of his aircraft fully extended. Whatever the cause, he struck at least one of the other planes.

"I yelled, 'Oh, God,' and looked over my shoulder and saw nothing but fire," said Antonio Vivona, 29, the youngest member of the team. "For some damned reason Ivo hit Giorgio Alessio, the No. 2 in the left group, who then hit our chief, Mario Naldini." Vivona's jet was hit by flying debris, but he managed to put down on an emergency landing field six miles away.

As the fireball mushroomed upward, dozens of spectators suffered fatal burns. Some stood dazed and naked amid the chaos, clothes burned off and blackened skin hanging in shreds. At least six of the dead and 40 of the injured were U.S. citizens, mostly military personnel or their dependents. Nearly all of the remaining dead and injured were West Germans.

West German medical officials later complained that air-base authorities were inadequately prepared for such a disaster. "I have to ask myself why there were no mobile medical teams at the site," said Wolfgang Herbig, a hospital director in the nearby town of Kaiserslautern. "There are always many ambulances at

motor races or soccer games." Base officials defended their planning. "You don't plan for 300 and more injuries," protested one U.S. Government official. "If you had any idea that might happen, you wouldn't let the show take place."

Exactly so, said many critics. The Frece Tricolori have a reputation for recklessness. Nutarelli, the oldest on the team, was a daredevil known for a breathtaking stunt called the bell ringer, in which he killed his engine in midair, plummeted downward and restarted it in time to pull up before crashing. "The Italians fly with brio, with panache and with skill," said Jacques Bottelin, leader of France's Patrouille Martini civilian flying team. "But they push too far." The Italian team has performed in the U.S. most recently two years ago at Andrews Air Force Base near Washington. Significantly, the Italians were prevented by FAA safety standards from fly-

ing the heart maneuver over spectators.

The rules at Ramstein apparently did not prohibit such maneuvers. The commanding officer of the Italian team, Lieut. Colonel Diego Raineri, said the squad had performed a test run of its act the day before the show for air-base authorities, who had approved it. U.S. officials at Ramstein declined any comment on the disaster, except to express condolences to victims and their families.

West German officials had a more visceral reaction. Defense Minister Rupert Scholz declared that air shows "will never again take place," though he soon modified the ban to cover only military displays. Shows scheduled later this month in Bitburg and Lechfeld were hurriedly canceled. Many officials expressed doubt that the Ramstein event—an annual fixture since 1955—would ever be held again.

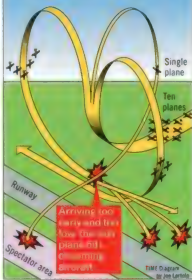
In Britain authorities decided to go ahead with this week's Farnborough air show despite calls for cancellation of the biennial display, one of the world's biggest. British officials said they were confident their safety rules would prevent an accident like the one at Ramstein. France too will proceed with scheduled shows because its rules, according to an air force statement, "are very rigorous." Spanish officials said they were "studying" whether to cancel a joint Spanish-American aerial display in Zaragoza next month, but it will probably go on.

In Italy the Ramstein crash sent the nation into mourning, but also created a furious debate over the use of the Frece Tricolori in air shows. The Italian air force restricted future appearances to nonaerobatic flyers at military functions. Officials in Fribourg, Switzerland, quietly disinvited the Italians to an air show this weekend.

Back in Washington both the Air Force, with its Thunderbirds flying team, and the Navy, with its Blue Angels, were quick to assert that a Ramstein-type catastrophe could not happen in the U.S. and to defend such demonstration flights. "I don't know that the risk is too high," said Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci. "We have crashes in training every day." In all, 22 Blue Angels have been killed in crashes since 1946, and 19 Thunderbirds since

## WHAT WENT WRONG

Planes split to loop right and left, forming a heart shape; solo plane loops to the back, preparing an approach to "pierce" the heart





## World

1953. But with thousands of air shows since World War II, no spectators have died in accidents involving military teams.

Indeed, the shows are one of the country's major spectator attractions, drawing 18 million people a year, vs. 16.7 million for professional football games. Thunderbirds Spokesman Donald Black justified the aerobic teams as a way of demonstrating "capabilities of high-performance aircraft and the high degree of proficiency and skill required to operate them."

In West Germany, however, the public's confidence in allied air forces was on the ebb even before the Ramstein disaster. In recent years West Germans have grown increasingly intolerant of low-altitude exercises by NATO fighters, mostly F-16s, whose pilots must practice the ground-hugging tactics they would use in battle. In the past seven years, 20 F-16s have crashed in West Germany, several in populated areas and one a bare ten sec-

onds' flying time from a nuclear power reactor near Landau. Three aircraft crashed on a single day in July. For the past three years demonstrators have protested the Ramstein show as a symbol of the low-flight issue; they marched outside the base the day before the disaster.

U.S. defense officials are worried about the pressure to ban low-altitude flights. "I am concerned that this accident would cause people to relate it somehow to low-level training," said U.S. Army General John H. Galvin, the NATO commander. NATO defense planners rely heavily on aircraft to offset a Warsaw Pact advantage in tanks, and effective use of aircraft demands low approaches to avoid radar and ground-to-air missiles.

In a cosmetic response to the changed public mood, West German Defense Minister Scholz had already somewhat reduced the volume of low-flight military exercises, from 68,000 hours a year to 66,000, and in-

sisted that his new ban on aerobatics applied not just to the German Luftwaffe but to NATO allies as well. In stating that claim, he seemed to be challenging the idea of the extraterritoriality of allied air bases. The 1963 NATO troops statute gives U.S. forces in West Germany the right to hold exercises in the air "as is necessary to the accomplishment of its defense mission."

Scholz's declarations raise the delicate question of whether a West German Defense Minister can decide what is and what is not part of NATO's defense role. But as a NATO diplomat in Bonn noted, "We are in an emotionally charged situation." Nowhere more so than at Ramstein, where the blackened remains of the Italian jet lay crumpled late last week amid abandoned picnic tables, uneaten potato salads and indelible memories of nightmare.

By James O. Jackson/Bonn.  
Reported by Cathy Booth/Rome and Bruce van Voorst/Washington, with other bureaus

POLAND

## It's Back to Work We Go

*With talks on, Solidarity may be set for a revival*

After two weeks of growing tensions, the mood inside the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk suddenly brightened. Clad in scruffy trousers and jackets, some of the workers occupying the facility joked with one another and guzzled soft drinks. As the afternoon sun beat down on the Baltic port, 3,000 men gathered to sing the Polish national anthem. Then the gates of the shipyard swung open and the throng poured into the streets, marking the beginning of the end of the worst labor unrest to shake Poland since 1981.

The shipyard workers voted to end their strike following an emotional appeal from Lech Walesa, leader of the outlawed Solidarity union and an electrician at the facility. They were followed by steel-mill employees in Stalowa Wola and coal-mine workers in Jastrowie, where the latest round of labor troubles began on Aug. 16. The last to settle were port and public transport employees in Szczecin, who abandoned their strikes around noon on Saturday.

Walesa acted just hours after he achieved a breakthrough in his relations with the Communist regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski. He held three hours of talks in Warsaw with Interior Minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak, the first time senior Polish officials have granted Walesa a role in the nation's affairs since 1981, when they imposed martial law, suppressed Solidarity and put the union leader in detention. Kiszczak said if the strikes were halted, the regime would set up a



Walesa arrives for landmark discussions with the Polish government

Workers put up resistance when he called for the strikes to end.

round table for serious negotiations on the economy, presumably including workers' demands for better wages, housing and food stocks.

Walesa risked his credibility by calling for an end to the strikes, which had attracted broad sympathy. But in return, Walesa obtained a pledge from Kiszczak that could revive the union leader's power and the diminishing influence of Solidarity: the regime agreed to discuss during the round-table talks lifting the ban on Solidarity, which Walesa founded in 1980 as the first independent trade union in the Communist bloc.

Shipyard workers generally greeted the news triumphantly. But some youthful militant strikers, dubbed the "young savages," were sharply critical that Walesa

failed to get a firm commitment that Solidarity will be legalized again. "I have obtained over 100% of what was possible with what strength I have," said Walesa amid disapproving whistles during a speech at the Lenin shipyard. He later told the workers that he chose the "path of agreement" because a repeat of their earlier struggle with the regime could lead to civil war.

Similar fears seem to have spurred Jaruzelski's regime. If Polish officials in fact persuaded Walesa to call off the strikes, they were surprisingly sympathetic to the economic grievances behind them. At a Central Committee meeting, Jaruzelski acknowledged that because of shortages the "daily life of Poles has become not only hard but also demeaning."

A genuine worker-government accord still seems distant. No schedule has been set for the round-table talks. Although Solidarity will probably not be tolerated as a national movement

that could challenge the regime's authority once again, the union may eventually be permitted to act on the factory level.

Jaruzelski's regime is clearly concerned about the new generation of strikers, who seem to care less about Walesa's fame than about getting better living conditions as quickly as possible. Admitted Wladyslaw Baka, the Central Committee secretary responsible for economic affairs: "No agreements, no reconciliation, no discussions will help us unless we can achieve visible results in improving our economy." Given the pathetic state of Poland's economy, that will be a difficult task even without the drain of further labor unrest.

By Scott MacLeod.  
Reported by Tadeusz Kucharski/Warsaw and Gertraud Lessing/Vienna



SOUTH KOREA

# Breaking into the Big Leagues

*Prosperous and newly democratic, a proud nation gets set for the Games*

**S**outh Korea is ready for the big party. Seoul is bedecked with flags and banners that flutter their welcome in a gentle summer breeze. Children are rehearsing spirited songs. The bands have been tuning up for months. Soon the guests from 161 countries will be arriving: 250,000 tourists, 14,000 journalists and, most important, 13,000 athletes and sports officials. A global television audience of more than 1 billion people will tune in as the Games of the XXIV Olympiad get under way.

In 1981, when Seoul beat out Nagoya in archival Japan for the right to stage the 1988 Summer Games, South Koreans looked at the event as a welcome opportunity to throw themselves an elaborate coming-out party. Invite the people of the world, and let them admire the economic miracle that had risen from the rubble of war.

Two weeks from now, when a South Korean athlete carries a flame kindled in Greece, the fountainhead of democracy, into Seoul's Olympic stadium, the host country will have more to show off than a vibrant economy: it will be able to point to an astonishing political accomplishment. In little more than a year, the South Koreans, ever the industrious builders, have torn down the rigid structure of an authoritarian regime and constructed in its stead a brash new democracy. As is obvious to anyone who has watched the images of student demonstrations and political protest flicker across a television screen, it is a system beset by imperfection, discord and conflict, riven by diverse opinions and hot tempers, but a functioning democracy nonetheless.

Only last year South Korea was under the iron fist of President Chun Doo Hwan, a former army general who had seized power in a 1980 coup. The press was muzzled, the National Assembly a rubber stamp, and the political opposition rendered impotent by persistent, often brutal suppression. Human rights were routinely abused.

Much of that grim past has been swept away. In a year of exciting political change, South Korea rewrote its constitution and in December 1987 held its first free presidential elections in 16 years. Most of its political prisoners were released. The press was allowed to operate freely, the door to political debate thrown open. Elections for a redistricted National Assembly, won by the opposition last April, confirmed a commitment to the electoral process.

Roh Tae Wook, 55, who came out ahead in a hard-fought battle for the presidency, has set South Korea on a more lib-

eral path, a course to which the country is still accommodating itself. Political opposition is flourishing. At the beginning of Chun's rule in 1980, the country's best-known opposition leader, Kim Dae Jung, 62, was found guilty of treason and, after serving time in prison, forced into exile for two years. Upon his return, he was put under house arrest.

No longer bound by legal restraints, Kim Dae Jung today holds a powerful position in the National Assembly, where he leads the Party for Peace and Democracy, the largest opposition group. Last month the military detailed a two-star general to give Kim a guided tour of South Korean defenses along the Demilitarized Zone, which borders Communist North Korea. Roh, himself a former four-star general, regularly invites Kim and other opposition leaders to the Blue House, the presidential seat, to brief them on government policies and listen to their views.

The President has little choice but to listen. His political base, the Democratic Justice Party (D.J.P.), which once carried out Blue House orders on the floor of the National Assembly with arrogant impunity, is no longer able to command a majority. Government omnipotence is a memory. In July, for example, Roh submitted the name of his candidate for Supreme Court Chief Justice to the National Assembly for approval, a matter that would have been routine in the old days. The legislature, however, rejected his choice, forcing the President to nominate someone untainted by past association with the military.

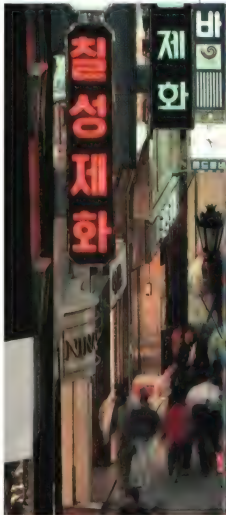
**T**he opposition too is learning that democracy cuts both ways. Opposition parties forced a bill through the Assembly in July giving the legislature wide investigative powers, including the right to order the arrest of reluctant witnesses. Roh vetoed the proposal. Consultations produced a compromise acceptable to both government and opposition. The event was quiet but historic, emblematic of the changes of the past year. "It is a good sign for democracy," says Kim Dae Jung. "We got together and compromised."

Chun's Fifth Republic, based on a constitution written to legitimate his seizure of power in 1980, began to founder in the summer of 1987, when the President, coming to the end of his seven-year term, attempted to pass his office to a loyal supporter and fellow general, Roh, without a direct election. On June 10, 1987, while Chun and Roh stood hand in hand in Seoul's Chamshil Gymnasium, accepting the applause of D.J.P. supporters at a sham convention to nominate the party's presi-

dential candidate for the bogus election that would follow, antigovernment students planned demonstrations that were to shake the country for the next two weeks.

Student demonstrations are an integral part of the political fabric of South Korea. But unlike most protests, fought under well-established rules of engagement at the gates of universities, the June 1987 demonstrations surged off the campuses, into the city streets. More important, they enlisted the support of middle-class citizens, whose forbearance with democracy delayed had been pushed to the limit under Chun.

Widespread public support for the



New bustle: Seoul's Myeongdong business district





Old ways: a Seoul couple in their wedding finery with priest and young attendant



teems with boutiques, art galleries, restaurants, street vendors and plenty of shoppers

students as they bravely stood their ground against pepper-gas-firing riot police transformed Roh the Chun Puppet into Roh the Democrat. On June 29 Roh invited a television crew to remain behind after he had addressed a routine meeting of the D.J.P. To the amazement of those present, Roh announced that he would resign from all his party positions unless the Chun government agreed to eight democratic reforms, including direct presidential elections, freedom of the press and pardons for political prisoners. The June 29 Declaration, as it is now known, stunned his party and disrupted its strategy to hold on to power.

Kim Dae Jung at first refused to believe the new political landscape was genuine, but he underestimated Roh's determination. A free and direct presidential election was held in December. Then, however, it was the opposition that lacked determination: rather than settle on a single candidate, who would probably have defeated Roh, the opposition split and ran two candidates. Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam. After a tumultuous campaign, Roh polled 36.6% of the vote, far from a majority but enough to best both Kim Young Sam, who received 28%, and Kim Dae Jung, with 27%.

**R**oh, a quiet, unassuming man, at once set out to establish a modest administrative style, one quite different from the stern, autocratic ways of Chun, who favored elevated, throne-like chairs and sat at a separate desk when meeting with his Cabinet. Roh introduced round tables, which he shares with colleagues and visitors. In his campaign, Roh had insisted that despite his background as a soldier, he was, at heart, "an ordinary man."

A recent poll gave Roh a 53% approval rating, but his popularity so far has not transferred to his party. In the April National Assembly elections, the D.J.P. suffered a shocking defeat and was reduced to 125 seats, less than a majority in the 299-seat Assembly. Both Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung, who resigned their party-leadership posts after the debacle of the presidential election, returned, phoenix-like, to the center of the political arena, heading their revived parties during the National Assembly elections.

Despite such encouraging signs, skeptics fret that the plague of authoritarianism has not been banished. "Those who benefited from the military dictatorship have retreated or made deals with the democratic forces," says opposition National Assemblyman Lee Chul. "Democracy is not deep-rooted yet."

The military and intelligence services remain powerful and threatening. Last week seven military men, including two brigadier generals, were arrested in connection with an assault on a journalist. The chief of army intelligence, Major General Lee Kyu Hong, was relieved of his post on charges that he attempted to block an investigation of the incident. As long as Seoul believes, justifiably, that



## World

there is a military threat from North Korea, the South Korean armed forces are bound to maintain a strong influence. "The government of [South] Korea is a big ship, and you must change course slowly," says D.J.P. Assemblyman Nam Jae Hee. "The people know Roh is altering the direction gradually. That's enough." The opposition also knows that pushing Roh and the government too hard could cause a backlash in favor of the right.

Roh's political hand has been strengthened immeasurably by his country's seemingly unstoppable economy, which last year was the fastest growing in the world. South Korea's gross national product in 1987 topped \$119 billion, and has risen at the staggering average annual rate of 8.8% for the past two decades. The country financed its fast expansion by running up a foreign debt that reached \$47 billion by 1986. But in that same year South Korea registered a small current-account trade surplus, the first in its history, and last year expanded it to \$7.7 billion. That overage has helped enable the country to reduce its foreign debt to a current level of \$35 billion.

**T**he secret, in essence, is a labor force that is industrious (a six-day workweek is standard), well educated (literacy rate 93%), extraordinarily thrifty (savings rate 35.8%) and modestly paid (average income of manufacturing employees \$409 a month). Parts of this spartan work ethic, which enables South Korea to produce everything from steel to videocassette recorders at some of the world's lowest costs, are beginning to change. In recent months there has been a wave of labor unrest, much of it centered on winning higher wages. Even so, most economists expect South Korea's industrial machine to continue to grow, though at the slightly slower rate of 8.5% annual-



Force for change: police subdue a demonstrator for reunification

ly. The ultimate goal: to place South Korea, currently ranked around 15th among the world's most technologically advanced countries, within the top ten.

To prevent distractions during the Olympics, the political parties have agreed to a temporary cease-fire. Once the Olympic flame is extinguished, however—and with it the feeling of Olympic kinship that is bonding South Koreans together—Roh will face a host of political problems. His most serious challenge: complete removal of the legacy of the Chun era. In the coming months, the National Assembly will be preoccupied with investigations of corruption under the Chun administration and of the circumstances surrounding the Kwangu massacre, an attack in 1980 by army troops in that southern city during which at least 198 people were killed. "There's no way we can win," says D.J.P. Assemblyman Suh Sang Mok. "It's only a matter of how much we lose."

Roh will also have to pay attention to the students, who remain a volatile factor. After its success in bringing about democratization, the student movement drifted in search of an issue and finally settled on a new cause: the reunification of North and South. Since nearly all Southerners

yearn for a united country, the students found themselves setting the pace again. On July 7, Roh attempted to maneuver his administration into a leading role in the reunification drive with proposals aimed at a thaw in relations with Pyongyang, but the government of Kim Il Sung, reluctant to appear upstaged, responded coolly. Low-level talks since then in the peace village of Panmunjom have stalled. Last week Pyongyang formally announced that it would boycott the Olympics.

Seoul hopes eventually to open channels to the North through its so-called Northern policy, an initiative born of Olympics contacts that is designed to shift South Korea away from its rigidly anti-Communist foreign policy. As yet the South has no formal diplomatic relations with a Communist country but hopes for change after the Games, with China first on the wish list.

While Roh is struggling with the problems of the next year or two, other politicians are looking ahead to 1993, when his term will be over. Kim Dae Jung, for one, concedes that he is positioning himself for the next presidential election—an admission that demonstrates his new faith in democratic continuity.

Fittingly, democratic progress has been in no small measure related to the Olympic Games. During the tense days of June 1987, when demonstrations against the government reached their peak, Chun rejected a call from hard-liners demanding sterner measures against the protesters, fearing that an escalation of the violence might threaten the Games. "For the military leadership," says Korea University's Han Sung Joo, "the Olympics became as important an objective as any other national goal—even maintaining themselves in power." So democracy bloomed to save the Olympics. The ancient Greeks would be pleased.

—By Barry Hilderbrand/Seoul

High-tech future: fiber-optics production in the capital



Hardworking present: a shipyard employee takes a break in Ulsan





## Courtship, Japanese-Style

*Takeshita offers cash and soothing words during a China tour*

**P**eace and harmony—and money—were the watchwords in Beijing last week when Asia's economic superpower, Japan, came courting. Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita spent six days in China trying to make amends for a recent history of bilateral irritations by passing out generous loans, grants and credits. His trip was judged a solid success.

In all, Takeshita handed out \$6 billion for 42 Chinese development projects over the six-year period from 1990 through 1995, almost doubling his country's aid to the mainland regime. In return, the Chinese government awarded Japan an investment-protection agreement that gives Japanese investors the same tax status and other benefits enjoyed by Chinese companies.

Chinese government officials referred to the Takeshita trip as a "second normalization of relations" between the two countries. Takeshita labeled his visit a "new starting point" in Sino-Japanese affairs. This blossoming of good feeling ends, for the moment at least, a period of bickering between the Asian powers that dates back to 1986. The friction was spurred by several issues, ranging from a new Japanese history text that glossed over Tokyo's atrocities in China before



Warm welcome: Premier Li, right, toasts his guest

and during World War II to former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's controversial 1987 visit to Tokyo's Yasukuni Shrine, a memorial for Japanese war dead. As recently as last April, Japanese Land Agency Director General Seisuke Okuno unleashed a flood of criticism from Beijing with his remark that Japan was "by no means the aggressor nation in World War II," a claim the Chinese labeled as "contrary to historical fact." If Okuno had not resigned, Takeshita's visit to China most likely would have been scrubbed at Beijing's insistence.

Takeshita, who took office just ten months ago, was credited with doing a highly professional job of soothing his

Chinese hosts' tender feelings. In remarks at a banquet given by Premier Li Peng, the Japanese leader volunteered that he would "learn lessons" and "face history." In a speech at the ancient Chinese capital of Xian, Takeshita insisted that the revival of Japanese militarism was a myth. Said he: "We have stuck fast to our stated goal of never becoming a military superpower."

Takeshita's task was made easier by an abrupt turnaround in the balance of trade between the two countries, another source of irritation to Beijing. In 1985 a flood of Japanese consumer goods into China ballooned trade between the two nations to \$19 billion, with Japan enjoying a \$6 billion surplus. Since then China has cut back on imports and dramatically increased exports to Japan. For the first six months of 1988, trade was up to a record \$10.3 billion, but now China enjoys a \$530 million surplus.

While the Asian giants were plighting their renewed affections, top Soviet officials continued their efforts to repair the 25-year-old schism between Moscow and Beijing. Last week Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev spent five days in the Chinese capital trying to negotiate a compromise on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, one of China's "three obstacles" to better relations with Moscow. But the talks ended without a settlement, dampening hopes for a 1988 Sino-Soviet summit meeting.

By Michael S. Serrill

Reported by Sandra Burton/Beijing and Barry Hillenbrand/Tokyo

### SOUTH AFRICA

## Gray Matter

*A reprieve for illegal residents*

**S**ince the government of State President P.W. Botha formally repealed its pass laws two years ago, South Africa's black workers have been free to go anywhere in the country in search of work. There is a hitch: they are still expected to comply with the Group Areas Act, an apartheid law that compels them to live in segregated nonwhite homelands and townships. For many, the only recourse has been to leave the townships and rent housing from white owners in the cities or erect makeshift shacks on idle farmland, roadsides and in parks and gardens. The result: as many as 7 million illegal squatters and the rise of "gray areas," whites-only districts where landlords have rented space to more than 100,000 blacks, coloreds and Asians.

In an effort to stem the flow of nonwhites into the cities, President Botha last month introduced five new housing-related bills, which were described by the South African weekly *Financial Mail* as "the

government's most regressive political step since Botha became National Party leader eleven years ago." The bills would provide for compulsory eviction of squatters and the destruction of their shacks; government-ordered improvements in gray-area buildings, which could be used to force blacks to move out; and stiff penalties for squatters and landowners who tolerate them.

When the government tried to push through the bills by declaring that they af-



A nonwhite family facing possible eviction

fected whites only and therefore would be dealt with by the all-white chamber of the tricameral Parliament, the mixed-race Labor Party responded by threatening to quit the body. In a sudden, unexpected retreat, the government announced last week that it would withdraw the bills, rewrite them, and then submit them to all three houses of Parliament. The delay is considered only a temporary setback for Botha, who has ample time to force the legislation through the President's Council and into law before the national municipal elections, which are scheduled for Oct. 26.

Last week the government announced that imprisoned Black Nationalist Leader Nelson Mandela, 70, was being moved from Tygerberg Hospital, where he has been receiving treatment for tuberculosis, to a private nursing home outside Cape Town. The news rekindled speculation that the government was inching toward releasing Mandela, despite his refusal to renounce violence as a political tool. Whatever the reason for Mandela's transfer, Botha is unlikely to make any move that would risk the wrath of right-wing white voters until after the October elections.

By Guy D. Garcia

Reported by Bruce W. Nolan/Johannesburg



## World

# Crime Inc. Comes to Moscow

*A sensational trial spotlights the new Mafiosi*

As soon as the poster appeared in the *perestroika* display window on Gorky Street in downtown Moscow, passers-by paused to stare and snicker. The hulking, black silhouette shrouded atop an awards stand was unmistakably that of Leonid Brezhnev, bushy eyebrows and all. But in place of his numerous military ribbons, the deceased Soviet leader wore a row of stripes labeled CORRUPTION, EMBEZZLEMENT, GRAFT and MONEY-GRUBBING. The lower tiers of the stand, two caricatured gangsters—one American, the other Italian—stared up at Brezhnev with apparent surprise. The caption beneath the cartoon said it all: SO, MAFIOSO, YOU FINALLY "DIG" WHO IS THE REAL GODFATHER.

There was a time when Mafia and Godfather were alien words in the official Soviet vocabulary, and organized crime was considered an inevitable by-product of decadent capitalism. No longer. Inspired by Party Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's campaign for greater honesty and openness, criminal investigators have begun unraveling a web of crime and corruption, dating back to the Brezhnev years, that stretched from the Central Asian Republic of Uzbekistan to the highest levels of government in Moscow.

This week the most famous defendant netted in the five-year Uzbek investigation will go on trial before the military tribunal of the U.S.S.R.'s Supreme Court in Moscow. Yuri Churbanov, 51, Brezhnev's son-in-law and a former First Deputy Minister of the Interior, stands accused of accepting more than \$1 million in bribes from Uzbek officials during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Eight other officials will be in the dock, including the former Uzbek Interior Minister and several regional police chiefs. If found guilty, the defendants could be sentenced to death. Churbanov's wife Galina, who is Brezhnev's daughter and has been linked to a Moscow diamond-smuggling ring, may be called to the witness stand.

Despite public demands that the trial be turned into an expose of the Brezhnev era, Defense Lawyer Andrei Makarov last week denounced any attempt "to try to judge Brezhnev under Churbanov's name."

Nonetheless, high-level indignation over the Churbanov affair and the moral decay of the Brezhnev years was registered last week in *Pravda*. In a scathing article titled "The Son-in-Law and His Clan," Churbanov



A poster depicting Brezhnev as a Mafia boss  
*Unraveling a web of organized crime.*

banov was depicted as a vain and ambitious man of limited abilities who exploited his connection with Brezhnev to climb up the hierarchy of the Soviet police. The newspaper made clear that he was only a tool in the hands of others, who were operating a mammoth racket in Uzbekistan to falsify cotton-production reports and swindle the state.

Organized crime first began to flourish on a large scale during the Brezhnev years in what has come to be known as the "shadow economy." Underground businessmen, who amassed wealth by si-

phoning off funds from the state budget for lucrative private ventures, proved an easy target for blackmail by small-time thugs. After gangsters began to demand "protection" money, a deal was reportedly cut at a conference in the northern Caucasus in the mid-1970s, with the illegal millionaires agreeing to pay 10% of their income to the crime lords.

In the Soviet criminal hierarchy, the Churbanovs are, in the words of Police Inspector Alexander Gurov, "two-bit messenger boys." As Gurov recently told *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, most of the real Soviet Godfathers, some of them low-level bureaucrats and even pizzeria waiters, are so inconspicuous they would not be singled out in a crowd. The new anticorruption campaign has exposed many other mobster operations, including prostitution rings, drug dealing and illegal vodka sales. Meanwhile, *perestroika*, the policy of economic restructuring, has opened virgin areas of opportunity for the Soviet Mafia, notably among newly legalized forms of free enterprise. Small entrepreneurs have been strong-armed to pay for protection or enter into forced partnerships with criminals seeking to "launder" funds by investments in cooperatives.

Another disturbing trend that reflects the growing influence of Soviet crime gangs has been a sudden upsurge in youth violence. During the past two years, 90 teenagers have died in 51 clashes with rival gangs. Police have been surrounded and attacked by young thugs while attempting to keep order. Arguing that such violence threatens his reforms, Gorbachev says: "If gang warfare may be a natural process, as if a spring long pressed down has been released, but it is a potent weapon in the hands of the enemies of *perestroika*, who claim that nothing like this existed before."

Soviet law-enforcement officers consider themselves ill equipped and underfunded to combat the increased activity of organized crime. Senior Investigator Telman Gdilyan, who survived death threats while ferreting out the Uzbek case for the prosecutor's office, says the Soviet Union needs to create a single, independent investigatory commission with a department devoted solely to combating organized crime. In an article he co-authored last June for the weekly *Ogonyok*, Gdilyan wondered "how it could happen that in a state as civilized as ours, such an enormous number of officials could rob many millions in riches and still remain in power." Even if the Churbanov trial provides some of the answers, the question is bound to resonate long into the future.

—By John Kahan/Moscow



Investigators pose with 8 million rubles in confiscated bribes



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Beaverton  
Newport News

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Downingtown  
Lancaster  
Pittsburgh  
Reading  
Scranton  
Wilkes-Barre  
Wilmington  
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**RHODE ISLAND**  
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Charleston (2)  
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Salt Lake City

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Phoenix area (4)  
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Las Cruces

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Cortland  
Long Island (2)  
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Cleveland area (2)  
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**OREGON**  
Beaverton  
Newport News

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Downingtown  
Lancaster  
Pittsburgh  
Reading  
Scranton  
Wilkes-Barre  
Wilmington  
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Salt Lake City

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Phoenix area (4)  
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Las Cruces

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Cortland  
Long Island (2)  
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Cleveland area (2)  
Columbus (2)  
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Beaverton  
Newport News

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Downingtown  
Lancaster  
Pittsburgh  
Reading  
Scranton  
Wilkes-Barre  
Wilmington  
York

**RHODE ISLAND**  
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Columbia  
Greenville

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Chattanooga  
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Knoxville  
Memphis (5)  
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College Station  
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Fort Worth  
Houston area  
San Antonio (2)  
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Charlottesville  
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Salt Lake City

**NEVADA**  
Las Vegas

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Phoenix area (4)  
Tucson

**NEW MEXICO**  
Albuquerque  
Las Cruces

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Buffalo/Ambrose  
Cortland  
Long Island (2)  
Rochester

**OHIO**  
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Cleveland area (2)  
Columbus (2)  
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**OREGON**  
Beaverton  
Newport News

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Downingtown  
Lancaster  
Pittsburgh  
Reading  
Scranton  
Wilkes-Barre  
Wilmington  
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**RHODE ISLAND**  
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**SOUTH CAROLINA**  
Charleston (2)  
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**TENNESSEE**  
Chattanooga  
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Knoxville  
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College Station  
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Charlottesville  
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Salt Lake City

**NEVADA**  
Las Vegas

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Phoenix area (4)  
Tucson

**NEW MEXICO**  
Albuquerque  
Las Cruces

**NEW YORK**  
Albany  
Buffalo/Ambrose  
Cortland  
Long Island (2)  
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Canton  
Cincinnati  
Cleveland area (2)  
Columbus (2)  
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**OREGON**  
Beaverton  
Newport News

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Downingtown  
Lancaster  
Pittsburgh  
Reading  
Scranton  
Wilkes-Barre  
Wilmington  
York

**RHODE ISLAND**  
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**SOUTH CAROLINA**  
Charleston (2)  
Columbia  
Greenville

**TENNESSEE**  
Chattanooga  
Jackson  
Knoxville  
Memphis (5)  
Nashville (4)  
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**TEXAS**  
Amarillo  
Austin  
College Station  
Dallas area (9)  
Fort Worth  
Houston area  
San Antonio (2)  
Victoria Falls  
Virginia  
Charlottesville  
Christiansburg  
Emporia  
Fredericksburg  
Hampton  
Harrisburg  
Newport News  
Norfolk  
Richmond  
Warrenton  
Williamsburg  
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La Crosse  
Madison  
Milwaukee (2)

**WYOMING**  
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**IDAHO**  
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**UTAH**  
Salt Lake City

**NEVADA**  
Las Vegas

**ARIZONA**  
Phoenix area (4)  
Tucson

**NEW MEXICO**  
Albuquerque  
Las Cruces

**NEW YORK**  
Albany  
Buffalo/Ambrose  
Cortland  
Long Island (2)  
Rochester

**OHIO**  
Canton  
Cincinnati  
Cleveland area (2)  
Columbus (2)  
Toledo

**OREGON**  
Beaverton  
Newport News

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Downingtown  
Lancaster  
Pittsburgh  
Reading  
Scranton  
Wilkes-Barre  
Wilmington  
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**RHODE ISLAND**  
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**SOUTH CAROLINA**  
Charleston (2)  
Columbia  
Greenville

**TENNESSEE**  
Chattanooga  
Jackson  
Knoxville  
Memphis (5)  
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Austin  
College Station  
Dallas area (9)  
Fort Worth  
Houston area  
San Antonio (2)  
Victoria Falls  
Virginia  
Charlottesville  
Christiansburg  
Emporia  
Fredericksburg  
Hampton  
Harrisburg  
Newport News  
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Madison  
Milwaukee (2)

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**UTAH**  
Salt Lake City

**NEVADA**  
Las Vegas

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Phoenix area (4)  
Tucson

**NEW MEXICO**  
Albuquerque  
Las Cruces

**NEW YORK**  
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Buffalo/Ambrose  
Cortland  
Long Island (2)  
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Cleveland area (2)  
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Newport News

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Downingtown  
Lancaster  
Pittsburgh  
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Scranton  
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**SOUTH CAROLINA**  
Charleston (2)  
Columbia  
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College Station  
Dallas area (9)  
Fort Worth  
Houston area  
San Antonio (2)  
Victoria Falls  
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Charlottesville  
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Fredericksburg  
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Newport News  
Norfolk  
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Warrenton  
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Madison  
Milwaukee (2)

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**UTAH**  
Salt Lake City

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Cleveland area (2)  
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**OREGON**  
Beaverton  
Newport News

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Downingtown  
Lancaster  
Pittsburgh  
Reading  
Scranton  
Wilkes-Barre  
Wilmington  
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**SOUTH CAROLINA**  
Charleston (2)  
Columbia  
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Knoxville  
Memphis (5)  
Nashville (4)  
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College Station  
Dallas area (9)  
Fort Worth  
Houston area  
San Antonio (2)  
Victoria Falls  
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Charlottesville  
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# The 1989 Mazda 929: high performance is the

For years, those who sought the highest level of luxury have turned to traditional luxury sedans. And accepted the modest performance they offered. While those looking for both luxury and high performance have turned to the sedans of Europe. And

accepted the high prices these automobiles commanded. It is into this rather wide gap that the Mazda 929 moves with effortless grace.

The 929's V6 power and highly sophisticated suspension give it the all-around performance normally associated with far more



**mazda**



# for those who believe the greatest luxury of all.

expensive high-performance luxury sedans. Mazda 929's spacious, elegantly appointed interior pampers driver and passengers alike.

And the 929's 36-month or 50,000-mile "bumper-to-bumper" warranty\* is clear proof of Mazda's confidence in its lasting quality.


For more information about the 929, call this toll-free number: 800-424-0202 ext. 702. And discover the luxury of high performance.

## The Mazda 929

A high-performance luxury sedan. The Mazda Way.





A woman with dark hair, wearing a black fedora and a light-colored trench coat over a dark top, is talking on a black rotary telephone. She is looking towards the camera with a slight smile. The background is a warm, orange-brown gradient.

"He's flying in on the red-eye  
just for my party.  
And he drinks Johnnie Walker."

Good taste is always an asset.



© 1988 Schieffelin & Somerset Co., New York, NY. Blended Scotch Whisky 43-46% Alc/Vol (86-91°)



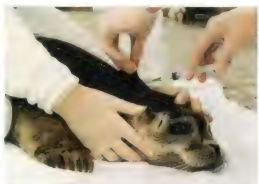
## World Notes



SPACE The first Afghan in orbit



FRANCE It's not the Eiffel Tower



ANIMALS Solving a mystery of the deep

### CHILE

## Night of the Generals

The nominating process was dubbed Super Tuesday, but any resemblance between the meeting at the Ministry of Defense in Santiago last week and the U.S. primaries was in name only. In less than an hour, a handful of top military men had named President Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, Chile's ruler of 15 years, as the only candidate in an Oct. 5 plebiscite. Pinochet appeared on the balcony of the presidential palace and urged citizens to keep Chile "sovereign and free."

His opponents had a more immediate goal. Taking advantage of the lifting of a state of emergency two weeks ago, thousands took to the streets in a thunderous protest of the vote. The army moved in with tear gas and water cannons. Three people were killed, and 21 wounded. The plebiscite is actually a referendum on Pinochet's rule. A *si* vote would keep him in power until 1997. A *no* would bring open elections next year.

### SPACE

## Far from Afghanistan

The television pictures beamed to earth last week from the Soviet space station Mir were a series of firsts: the first pictures

from space of Astronaut Abdul Ahad Mohmand, 29, an Afghan air force pilot who rocketed from Baikonur space center in Soviet Central Asia to a midweek space-station rendezvous, accompanied by two Soviet cosmonauts; the first pictures beamed by Soviet television of an Afghan orbiting the earth while reading passages from the Qur'an.

The Soviet news agency TASS said Mohmand's main assignments are participating in experiments on the nauseating effects of weightlessness and photographic surveys of his native land. But the images broadcast to the folks back in Kabul suggested that Mohmand was given a larger mission: helping Moscow win friends in Afghanistan as the Soviets withdraw their troops from that divided country.

### FRANCE

## We're Talking Crude Oil Here

There were a few cries of sacrilege when it became known some years ago that oil companies were searching for crude beneath the streets of Paris, using noisy trucks equipped with seismic scanners to chart geological formations below the Champs Elysées, the Arc de Triomphe and other hallowed landmarks. But last week Elf-Aquitaine, one of France's national oil companies, announced that it had recovered

an encouraging 27 bbl. of oil from a 6,500-ft.-deep well about four miles from the heart of Paris.

The news infused local residents with Texas-size optimism. "It would bring extra money to the community budget," said the suburb's Communist deputy mayor, Gilbert Ridoux. To Odile Deanna, a jewelry-store sales clerk, the strike promised "work, a lot of people visiting the drilling sites and more business for us." Elf-Aquitaine cautioned that more tests are needed to determine the well's potential profitability.

### ANIMALS

## The Cough Of the Seal

The first hint that something was amiss came last April, when harbor seals along the coast of northern Europe began showing symptoms of a mysterious viral infection. Before long, dead or dying seals were washing up on the shores of Britain, Holland and West Germany. To date, 11,000 seals have died, including an estimated 70% of the seal population in parts of the North Sea and Baltic Sea coasts.

Last week Dutch Virologist Albert Osterhaus announced he had located the cause: the same virus that produces distemper in dogs. Osterhaus believes the seals contracted the virus after contact

with canines and spread it to one another by coughing. Pollution may also have contributed by lowering the animals' immunological defenses.

### SOVIET UNION

## Which Way to Lenin's Tomb?

As foreign tourists, diplomats and even the locals long ago discovered, it is tricky to find one's way around the Soviet Union. No wonder. In a startling admission last week, a sheepish-sounding Soviet official said the Kremlin has deliberately falsified virtually all maps of the country for the past 50 years on the orders of the secret police. Chief Soviet Cartographer Viktor Yashchenko told the newspaper *Izvestia*, "Roads and rivers were moved. City districts were tilted. Streets and houses were incorrectly indicated."

According to Yashchenko, the police started classifying accurate maps as state secrets in the 1930s because of "spy mania." Not surprisingly, he said, "we received numerous complaints. People did not recognize their motherland on maps." For years, space photography has enabled the U.S. to make highly reliable maps of the Soviet Union. But, Yashchenko said, it has taken Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* to spur his agency into releasing accurate maps of its own.



# Your insurance company would free protection against household

When on vacation, lower the volume on your telephone bell and have a neighbor pick up deliveries.

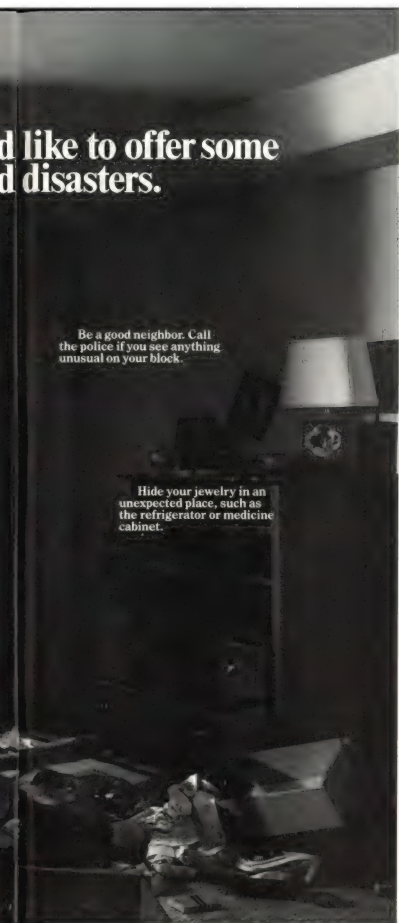
Light exteriors and cut back shrubs outside of your house.

Secure double-hung windows together by drilling a hole and inserting a removable nail.

Make sure valuables can't be seen from outside.

Don't give strangers information about your schedule over the phone.





**d like to offer some  
d disasters.**

Be a good neighbor. Call  
the police if you see anything  
unusual on your block.

Hide your jewelry in an  
unexpected place, such as  
the refrigerator or medicine  
cabinet.

Every 14 seconds, another  
house is robbed.

Someone's bedroom is ran-  
sacked. Things are taken that  
can never be replaced. Worst of  
all, you feel as if your privacy  
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Naturally, protecting your  
home from losses saves you and  
your insurance company money.  
Fewer claims can help keep costs  
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protect your home. What's more  
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## Economy & Business

COVER STORY

# Gridlock!



*Congestion on America's highways and runways takes a grinding toll*

*I saw in their eyes something I was to see over and over in every part of the nation—a burning desire to go, to move, to get under way, anyplace, away from any Here. Nearly every American hungers to move.*

—John Steinbeck, *Travels with Charley*

**R**emember when getting there was half the fun? When driving was a breeze and flying was a cinch? No longer. Gridlock has gripped America, threatening to transform its highways and flyways into snarled barriers to progress. After returning from their summer jaunts, many travelers are looking back in anger at odysseys through pot-holed streets, jam-packed freeways, bottlenecked bridges and overstuffed airports. Now they face another season of

grinding commutes: in many U.S. cities, the rush hour has grown into a hellish crush that lasts virtually from sunup till sundown. For U.S. businesses, the meter is running. Companies are losing money as employees fritter away their hours in a transportation standstill. Messengers fail to deliver important documents on time. Sales representatives miss their plane connections and are unable to show up for the big pitch. Even expensive private jets get caught in holding patterns, leaving subordinates in limbo while their bosses circle overhead.

The congestion, which is certain to grow worse in the coming decade, is hampering Americans' cherished mobility and changing the way they travel and do business. Instead of boasting *I Get Around*, the tune they are waiting now-

days is Don't Get Around Much Anymore. Consider:

► The Detroit Tigers baseball team lost an important asset last week when its newly hired outfielder, Fred Lynn, failed to qualify for postseason play. Reason: he got caught in a traffic jam. Lynn was playing in Anaheim, Calif., for the Baltimore Orioles when he accepted Detroit's offer late Wednesday afternoon. But to qualify for the playoffs under league rules, he had to join the team, then in Chicago, by midnight. The Tigers chartered a jet for Lynn at Ontario (Calif.) International Airport, but rush-hour congestion reportedly stretched his 35-minute drive to an hour and 15 minutes. That proved a costly delay: Lynn's plane did not reach Chicago airspace until 12:10 a.m.





► The trucks that deliver Dean Foods products in the Chicago area were getting caught in such relentless traffic tie-ups that the company's drivers play the high-walks in the middle of the night. Many truckers leave for their rounds between 2:30 and 4 a.m. Says Larry Smith, chief of Dean's trucking subsidiary: "By getting drivers ahead of the traffic, we believe we can reduce our cost and increase our productivity by 50%."

► Bridget and Tom Hotchkiss of Evanston, Ill., who returned in July from a slow-moving car trip to the Maryland shore with their sons Tommy, 6, and Patrick, 3, vow never to do it again. Says Bridget: "Ever since we got home, the boys have been playing a new game. They get out all their big trucks and all their cars. I hear them saying, 'Let's play Traffic Jam.'"

► Hutchins Kealy, a management consultant, figured that a 9:20 a.m. flight from Detroit to Toronto would get him there in plenty of time for his 11 a.m. appointment. The normal flight time is about one hour. But because of airport congestion and a flat tire on his plane, he sat on the runway all morning. Despite his protests, flight attendants refused to allow Kealy and his luggage off the plane, and he was more than four hours late. "I could have rented a car and driven there instead," he declares. Alas, poor Kealy, you would probably have been stuck in traffic on the

**Rush hour has become crush hour, whether travelers are waiting for takeoff at New York City's LaGuardia Airport or creeping toward the Bay Bridge in Oakland**





Ambassador Bridge, one of the choked passageways connecting Detroit with Windsor, Ont.

► Traffic on the Long Island Expressway, which carries weekenders from New York City to the Hamptons resort communities, has become so bad that the wealthy, and even semiwealthy, rent seaplanes to get to their houses faster (fee for a 90-mile, one-way trip, up to \$130 a head). Result: local harbors and bays are infested with swarms of aircraft, which East Hampton officials are threatening to ban.

Gridlock is more than just an irritant. The epidemic of slow-motion sickness is costing the U.S. billions of dollars in lost productivity and wasted fuel. It is polluting the atmosphere with hydrocarbons, spoiling some Americans' taste for travel and influencing where families choose to live and work. Says T. Allan McArdor, chief of the Federal Aviation Administration: "Gridlock is not an alarmist theory. It will happen unless we take immediate action."

The reason for the congestion is the rapid growth in airplane and auto traffic, which is partly the result of deregulated airlines and six straight years of economic expansion. Airline passenger travel has nearly doubled in the past decade, from 240 million trips in 1977 to 447 million last year. U.S. motor vehicle travel

reached 1.9 trillion miles last year, an increase of 27% from 1977. Americans operate 181 million cars, trucks and buses, also up 27% from a decade ago.

But during this time, the U.S. has failed to expand its system of roadways and runways. No completely new major airport has been built since 1974, when Dallas-Fort Worth was completed, despite the rapid expansion of U.S. air traffic. "We simply have too much aluminum and not enough concrete," says the FAA's McArdor. Of the 3.88 million miles of roads in the U.S., 92% was built before 1960.

**N**ot only are there too few highways and airports, but also many existing ones desperately need upgrading. "America is falling apart, literally," declared Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton in an essay in the *New York Times*. He pointed out that declining U.S. spending on public works, from 19.1% of total government expenditures in 1950 to 6.8% by 1984, "is as serious a national problem as the budget and trade deficits."

The worsening congestion raises troubling issues for the 1990s. Should more highways be constructed, or will that only invite more auto traffic and suburban sprawl? How can people be encouraged to leave their cars at home and ride mass

transit? Where can new urban airports be sited so that their noise and spread will be tolerated by neighbors? The situation has created an urgent need for innovative solutions, and some are already on the horizon: double-decker freeways, airplanes that can take off vertically from landing pads, and 300-m.p.h. trains that ride on magnetic fields.

Since traffic jams are almost synonymous with urban growth, they have been building for a long time. (The term gridlock apparently came into common use in New York City during a transit workers' strike in 1980, when a surge of commuter autos paralyzed Manhattan's street grid.) Congestion on two-lane highways in the 1950s hastened construction of the 42,797-mile interstate system, which will be officially completed in 1991 (estimated final cost \$108 billion). But the interstates eased overcrowding only temporarily. Says Transportation Secretary James Burnley: "It's not a problem that will be resolved in a final, permanent way in my lifetime."

Gridlock is spreading to suburbs, exurbs and medium-size cities that seldom experienced it before. Highway bottlenecks are occurring on once lonely stretches like I-70 about 60 miles west of Denver, where throngs of cars bearing ski racks turn the interstate into a virtual

## CLEARING THOSE CLOGGED ARTERIES



**Green light:** Atlanta's "Spaghetti Junction" makes commuting a breeze

Atlanta is transforming its downtown connector highway from a bottleneck to a breeze. The connector had become congested because of the growth of Atlanta's northern suburbs. Thousands of commuters migrate south each morning on two interstate highways, I-85 and I-75,

which funnel into the connector three miles north of downtown. By the mid-1970s, the four-lane highway was jammed with more than 100,000 autos a day, twice its capacity. Atlanta responded in 1978 with a \$1.4 billion plan for "freeing the freeways." Computer models showed traffic engineers where to expand the system and where to streamline it by eliminating entrances and exits. Today the highway features as many as ten lanes, includes eight rebuilt interchanges and can handle four times as much volume as the old roadway. Although work on the southern portion of the highway is still under way, tie-ups north of downtown are rare. Says Dodi Fromson, an antiques dealer from Southern California who visited Atlanta: "I certainly knew I wasn't in Los Angeles."



**Red light:** where Boston's I-93 meets Route 1, traffic flow can be measured in inches per hour

Boston drivers, a notoriously freewheeling breed, find their ultimate frustration on the city's Central Artery. Twice each weekday, for a total of seven hours, it becomes a virtual parking lot. The highway, a six-lane stretch of Interstate 93 that snakes through Boston's downtown section

from the Massachusetts Turnpike to the Charles River, handles 180,000 automobiles a day—nearly 2½ times its stated capacity. The two-mile elevated section, built without any shoulders or slowdown and speedup lanes for exits and entrances, has an accident rate that is twice the average for urban highways in the U.S. Next year Massachusetts will begin a ten-year, \$4.3 billion project to rebuild and reroute some seven miles of highway, including Central Artery. Construction will add four traffic lanes, enough to accommodate an anticipated 210,000 vehicles a day, and will replace the elevated roadway with a tunnel. But Transportation Secretary James Burnley sternly criticizes the underground portion of the project for not adding enough capacity.



parking lot each winter. North Kendall Drive, a suburban Miami thoroughfare described as a "road to nowhere" when it was built some 20 years ago, is now almost as choked as Manhattan streets. The number of airports considered by the FAA to be severely congested, meaning they suffer from annual flight delays of 20,000 hours or more, is expected to increase from 18 in 1986 to 32 by 1996 if no action is taken.

In a sense, auto and airline congestion are parallel problems, each with its own causes and remedies, but the two forms of gridlock intersect in a harmful way on the bottom line of U.S. businesses. Congestion is helping boost the total cost of moving people and goods, which amounted to \$792 billion in the U.S. last year, or 17.6% of the gross national product. Delays and disruptions can quickly spread inflationary price increases through the economy. Case in point: gridlock can play havoc with the just-in-time inventory system, a popular Japanese-style management technique in which manufacturers bring in parts at the last minute rather than stockpiling large quantities.

The finite resources of time and fuel are squandered as autos and aircraft stand motionless on their concrete slabs. Air-travel delays in 1986, according to FAA estimates, created \$1.8 billion in extra operating expenses for airlines and cost passengers \$3.2 billion in lost time. As for motorists, the Transportation Department calculates that in 1985 vehicles on U.S. freeways racked up 722 million hours in delays, a number that is expected to rise to 3.9 billion hours by the year 2005 if no improvements are made. (Today's average motorist will spend an estimated six months of his lifetime waiting for red lights to change, according to a study by Priority Management Pittsburgh, a time-management consulting firm.) All that stop-and-go travel wasted nearly 3 billion gal. of gasoline in 1984, or about 4% of annual U.S. consumption, according to the latest Transportation Department estimate. Last year planes waiting to take off or circling for a landing used some 500 billion gal. of jet fuel, about 3.6% of 1987's total.

Executives say they are spending too much valuable time waiting on the taxiway. In a poll of 461 members of the Executive Committee, a group of presidents and chief executives, 36% said they have lost job efficiency because of air-travel delays. To be sure of arriving on time at a meeting in another city, many business travelers take the precaution of flying the night before their appointment, saddling their company with the additional cost of a hotel room.

Commuters who drive to work often show up too tired or too irritated to function effectively. Chronic exposure to traffic congestion, according to a study by Psychologist Raymond Novaco at the University of California at Irvine, tends to give drivers "an increase in baseline blood pressure, lowering of frustration tolerance, increase in nega-

## NOT ENOUGH PLACES TO LAND



Up, up and away: at Seattle-Tacoma Airport, passengers seldom encounter mob scenes

When travelers are asked to rank airports according to convenience, the winner is often Seattle-Tacoma International. Spacious and easy to navigate, Sea-Tac is the 23rd largest U.S. airport in terms of passenger traffic;

it handled 14.4 million people last year. Passengers are whisked from the central terminal to outlying gates by a rubber-tired subway that travels at 26 m.p.h. The airport owes its roominess to a five-year building program, completed in 1973, in which two giant, remote terminals were constructed to accommodate jumbo jets. As a result, Sea-Tac has become a popular connection point for travelers flying to Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore. Seattle-Tacoma's record for on-time departures, currently 87%, falls short of the performance of such fair-weather airports as Dallas-Fort Worth and Phoenix, which often top 90%. But Sea-Tac is consistently above the national average, not an easy feat in the sometimes foggy Pacific Northwest.

Earthbound: frustration runs high at O'Hare, where heavy traffic creates long backups



Because of its central location, Chicago's O'Hare is the busiest and most congested air-travel crossroads on the continent. Serving as a hub for the two largest U.S. carriers, United and American airlines, O'Hare is expected to handle about 57 million passengers and 800,000 flights this year. At peak periods air-traffic controllers direct up to 210 takeoffs and landings an hour. The airport, once an apple orchard (hence the call letters ORD), is functioning at 96% of capacity and has no room to expand because suburbs surround it. Yet air traffic is still growing. For the first seven months of this year, the airport logged 106,458 hours of delays, compared with 67,590 at the second busiest U.S. airport, Atlanta's Hartsfield International. About 75% of O'Hare's delays are attributed to the city's blustery weather. Two new buildings may alleviate some of the congestion. The futuristic United Airlines terminal, opened in 1987, handles 90,000 people a day. A new international terminal and a people-mover system are scheduled for 1992. But what Chicago really needs is another major airport.

tive mood and aggressive driving habits." The outbreak of freeway violence in California last year, when more than 100 freeway shootings and rock-throwing incidents took place, was not an aberration. On one Sunday last month, five separate highway shootings occurred in Oregon and Colorado.

Civic leaders in congested cities have begun to understand that their traffic problems will drive away business. For one thing, companies in gridlocked cities have trouble luring employees from other locales. "Today the relative ease or difficulty of commuting and parking is a major factor in the choice of employment,"

says Donn Knight, vice president of the Government Employees Insurance Co. in Chevy Chase, Md. Some Los Angeles manufacturing companies have fled to less congested cities such as Las Vegas and Phoenix, and corporations have moved their headquarters from New York City to Dallas and Orlando. Says Sigurd Grava, professor of urban planning at Columbia University: "Congestion can play an important role in the life and death of a city." When Oregon Governor Neil Goldschmidt, a former U.S. Transportation Secretary, got caught in a traffic jam in Seattle, he took the occasion to get out of his car and pass out his card



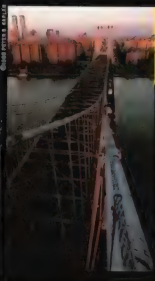
## WHEN THE VITAL LINKS BREAK



**Suspended grace:** the new Sunshine Skyway Bridge over Tampa Bay is wider, safer and even prettier

Many Tampa Bay residents feel a surge of civic pride as they drive across the new \$244 million, 4.1-mile Sunshine Skyway Bridge, the centerpiece of a 13-mile causeway connecting the tip of St. Petersburg's peninsula to the

mainland. The span replaces a pair of cantilevered bridges, built in 1954 and 1971. The newer of the two collapsed in 1980, killing 35 people, when it was hit by a freighter during a blinding rainstorm. After the accident, more than 20,000 vehicles a day crowded onto the single remaining two-lane span. Government officials could have repaired the damaged structure for about \$30 million, but decided it was time for a bigger, safer bridge. The new span, which opened last year, employs a graceful monopole design in which supporting cables radiate from two central towers. The roadway has four extra-wide lanes and ten-foot shoulders to enable drivers with car trouble to pull out of traffic. Thick concrete bumpers protect the bridge's main piers against maritime collisions.



**Rusted ruin:** falling apart from neglect, the Williamsburg Bridge will take seven years to fix

Completed in 1903, the Williamsburg Bridge over New York City's East River has long served as a major traffic artery between Brooklyn and lower Manhattan, with more than 240,000 commuters crossing the 1½-mile steel

span every day in cars, buses and subway trains. But the bridge is literally falling apart, the result of decades of neglect by city leaders who skimped on maintenance. Last April, after inspectors reported severe corrosion in key support beams and cracks in deck surfaces, the city temporarily closed the bridge. Result: bridge-lock. As New Yorkers jammed other bridges and tunnels, the city's commuter rush expanded by half an hour every morning and evening. The Williamsburg was reopened in August after a quick \$10 million patch up, but the relief is temporary. Starting next summer, the city will undertake a seven-year, \$400 million project to rebuild the structure's decks, support beams, cables and access roads. Several of the bridge's eight traffic lanes will be closed for the duration.

to other stranded motorists, extending a tongue-in-cheek invitation to move to his less-crowded state.

The one consolation for U.S. business is that companies in competing industrial countries have similar problems. In Western Europe, where air travel increased 8% in 1987 and is expected to jump more than 7% this year, terminals have become mob scenes. At Munich's airport one day this summer, congestion prompted officials to cancel 27 of Lufthansa's 59 domestic flights. A prime cause of the crunch is Europe's fractured air-control system, which is composed of 42 separate civilian control centers, plus additional military jurisdictions.

Auto traffic too is increasingly grid-

locked, from West Germany's autobahns to the streets of Paris. Despite Europe's efficient trains and subways, rail service is gradually losing customers because the past half-decade's prosperity has enabled so many people to buy cars. Governments have launched costly road-building programs, but new highways like London's two-year-old M25 beltway have quickly become just as jammed as the old routes.

Japan is also suffering relentless traffic tie-ups on its narrow streets. In the past decade, the number of registered vehicles in Tokyo has jumped 49%, to 5.2 million, but roads have been expanded only about 4%. Everyday traffic is called *tsukin jigoku*, or commuting hell. Even so, most Japanese look upon the crowding as

a traditional problem that poses no grave threat to their country's productivity.

American business executives wish they could say the same. Their workers are increasingly caught in traffic because commuting patterns have changed drastically in recent decades. The interstate highway system was originally designed to carry motorists primarily from city to city; its beltways were constructed mainly as bypasses for long-distance travelers. Local commuters, by contrast, generally moved in and out of urban downtown areas in a radial pattern, along the paths of mass transit and major thoroughfares. But the majority of work is no longer downtown: the suburbs contain 60% of current metropolitan jobs and 67% of all new ones, according to the Transportation Department. As a result, many workers commute from one suburb to another, and they crowd onto the beltways because mass transit and other roads are not well developed along those routes.

At the same time, the movement of women into the work force has produced a second commuter in most households. A suburban, two-income family typically owns two cars for the parents and often a third car for teenagers to take to school or the mall. In the affluent Washington suburb of Fairfax County, Va., the number of autos has increased almost 84% since 1975, nearly three times as fast as the population growth of 31%.

For many suburbs, the beltway serves as Main Street, lined with office buildings, shopping complexes and Cineplexes that attract more and more home buyers. The Washington Beltway is a notoriously clogged 64-mile loop that carried an estimated 466,000 vehicles a day in 1976 and now handles 735,000. The average speed for Beltway commuters driving across the Woodrow Wilson Bridge from Virginia suburbs to Maryland communities is currently 23 m.p.h., down from 47 m.p.h. in 1981.

In a sense, the interstate system's big, broad freeways invited today's congestion. When the interstates were built, 90% funded by the U.S. Government, most suburbs viewed them as all the highway they would ever need. Coalitions of environmentalists and taxpayers defeated plans for additional major arteries in San Francisco, Boston and other cities in the 1960s and '70s, when they would have been cheaper to build. "Highway expansion was perhaps the first victim of the not-in-my-backyard syndrome. Now we are paying the piper," says Jose Gómez-Ibañez, a professor of public policy and urban planning at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

As it turned out, the interstate system proved a much greater stimulant to suburban development than anyone expected. As houses in the inner rings of suburbs became more expensive because of their proximity to jobs, developers began building outer rings of more affordable houses. For suburbs that have been intensively built up, it is too late for additional major highways. "Once development occurs, it



## Economy & Business

is anathema to government to pave over someone's house," says Denton Kent, Fairfax's deputy county executive for planning and development.

Transportation experts generally agree that in most cases a huge highway-building program is not the answer. "We cannot pour asphalt and concrete on the ground fast enough, and in the face of today's political and social environment, I am not sure that people would accept it," says Robert Farris, chief of the Federal Highway Administration. As a practical matter, the cost of buying up suburban houses worth at least \$250,000 apiece for a right-of-way would be prohibitive.

Then what can be done to keep traffic moving? Existing highways need to be rebuilt and repaved so that they can carry more volume. The Road Information Program (TRIP), a Washington research group, says federal surveys have estimated that 62% of the 2.1 million miles of paved highways in the U.S. need some form of rehabilitation. In many cases, highways should have extra lanes or wider shoulders so that broken-down or damaged cars, which trigger about 60% of bumper-to-bumper slowdowns, can get out of the way. In the northern suburbs of Los Angeles, planners are studying ways

to build a double-decker section of the Ventura Freeway.

But road rebuilding is a budget-busting enterprise. A stretch of Chicago's long-neglected Dan Ryan Expressway that is being rebuilt and widened in places from eight lanes to ten will cost \$210 million for just three miles of road. Illinois is getting 90% of the money from the U.S. Government, but that source is not expanding. Federal highway outlays—financed mostly by gasoline and other excise taxes—increased from \$6.1 billion in fiscal 1977 to \$12.8 billion in 1987, barely keeping up with inflation. TRIP estimates the cost of repairing the 278,400 miles of highways in poor to very-poor condition at more than \$164 billion. That means state and local governments have to raise daunting amounts of cash.

**A**lso costly to fix are America's crumbling bridges. Many are too narrow or corroded to handle the load of traffic from connecting roads. The 1,850-ft., four-lane Ambassador Bridge linking Detroit with Windsor, Ont., which seemed spacious when it opened in 1929, suffers daily backups, pinching the flow of trade between the U.S. and Canada. Federal surveys indi-

cate that 42% of the 573,928 bridges more than 20 ft. long need to be rehabilitated or replaced, at a total cost of more than \$50 billion.

Until cities can revamp their streets and highways, they will have to work harder to manage the traffic flow. Authorities in Los Angeles, Chicago and other metropolitan areas have installed electronic sensors in the pavement to get a continuous reading of traffic speed and volume. When a highway becomes clogged, controllers can adjust the timing of stoplights on the on-ramps to reduce the flow of vehicles. In Virginia traffic supervisors use remote TV cameras installed along stretches of I-66 and I-395 to spot breakdowns, to which they immediately dispatch tow trucks that dispense free gasoline if a motorist needs it. Chicago's highway authority operates a huge mobile crane, dubbed Mad Max, that can lift up to 60 tons, and has moved obstacles ranging from semitrailers to a 500-lb. runaway pig.

To a great extent, traffic misery is what Americans get in return for preferring their cozy vehicles to mass transit. "We've made a massive commitment to autos, especially those with only one or two people in them. Now we're paying the price," says

## LEAVE THE DRIVING TO US, PLEASE



**Fast lane to work:** Houston's new buses get there faster in special transit ways that bypass jam-ups

Houston's public bus service used to be so unreliable that a local newspaper featured front-page box scores listing the number of buses on the road, the number in the shop and the percentage of late arrivals (as high as 50%). Virtually every day some routes got no buses at all. To

untangle the mess, Houston voters in 1978 approved a special 1% tax on retail sales to help pay for a modern transit system. Since then the city has spent \$790 million to upgrade service, adding 789 new buses, 20 park-and-ride lots, 750 sheltered bus stops and five new maintenance shops. Houston now boasts a highly efficient transit system that the American Public Transit Association ranks as the safest in the U.S. The buses are on schedule 98% of the time and are so dependable that they need repair only once every 11,000 miles, compared with the U.S. average of 4,000 miles. The city plans to expand its system of express lanes for buses, vans and car pools. Houston will have 70 miles of such lanes, more than any other U.S. city, when they are completed, in 1991.



**Train to nowhere:** Miami's sparkling Metrorail does not have enough tracks to place riders who want to go

To jostled and jaded riders of New York City's subways, the clean and comfortable Miami Metrorail system may seem just about perfect. But in many respects, Miami's four-year-old, 20-mile elevated rail system is a \$1 billion study in poor planning. When the system was designed

in the late 1970s, Dade County officials decided to run the rails from downtown to the southern part of Miami, where they expected growth. But most new building occurred in the north and west. At the same time, cost overruns and federal budget cuts knocked out plans to extend the rails into those parts of town. Result: Metrorail cannot deliver residents of lower-income neighborhoods to the northern suburbs, where many of them work. Nor can it transport white-collar commuters in the opposite direction, from the north to downtown. County officials hoped Metrorail would carry 200,000 riders a day; it transports at most 34,000 (the fare: \$1). To stem financial losses, the county may cut back on service, a move that could reduce passenger loads even more.



Richard Kiley, chairman of the Metropolitan Transit Authority for the New York City area. Gridlock has inspired some cities that once spurned mass transit to launch bold new building programs. Los Angeles, which tore up its streetcar tracks during the '50s, broke ground in 1986 on a \$5 billion transit system that will include a four-mile-long subway from the downtown civic center to MacArthur Park and a 22-mile-long rail line from downtown to nearby Long Beach.

Yet mass transit is no cure-all and often proves inefficient in America's sprawling suburbs. Many critics question whether subways and other heavy-rail systems can be effective anywhere but in a few very densely populated cities. Even Washington's clean and efficient 70-mile-long, \$7 billion Metro subway, which carries almost 500,000 riders a day, meets only 70% of its operating expenses from fares.

Since the major complaint about rail systems is that they do not take riders where they want to go, some experts believe the better mass-transit investment is an extensive network of buses. Says Transportation Secretary Burnley: "They can be rerouted overnight to meet changing transportation patterns. We have got to have the emphasis on flexibility." Buses work especially well when they can zip along freeways in high-occupancy lanes that are restricted to buses, vans and car-pool vehicles. During the morning rush hour on Virginia's I-350, two high-occupancy lanes carry an average of about 33,000 commuters, a bit more than the four regular lanes, yet in only one-fifth as many vehicles.

**T**o get cars off the highways, businesses and government need to find more ways to discourage driving. Since fuel is relatively cheap, a greater gasoline tax would be in order. Another step is to restrict more lanes to car-pool vehicles, since the average passenger car now carries only 1.3 riders for trips to work. The U.S. even gives drivers a tax loophole, which should be abolished. MTA Chairman Kiley points out that under federal law, employers can give their workers tax-free compensation for parking, with no cap, while contributions for mass-transit are limited to \$15 a month. In Manhattan, where parking can cost more than \$350 a month, the policy can mean a lucrative subsidy for drivers.

Air-travel delays are expected to become chronic in the next decade despite stepped-up efforts by carriers to keep planes on schedule. The Transportation Department says that during June, the 13 major airlines managed to operate 84.3% of their flights within 15 minutes of being on time, the best performance since the Government began publishing the statistics last September. (The worst figure was 66.4% in December 1987.) But one reason for the improvement was that the airlines simply added minutes to their flight times. Says Herbert Kelleher, chairman of Southwest Airlines: "If anybody thinks the problem has been solved, they are



Hurling at 164 m.p.h. when it hits the ground, the Delta jetliner tears open in two places

## "Get Up! Get Up!"

**N**othing about the setting even hinted of disaster. The morning sky was warm and hazy over Dallas-Fort Worth International, an airport that many pilots consider the safest in the U.S. But as Delta Air Lines Flight 1141 lifted off last Wednesday for an 8:31 flight to Salt Lake City, the 108 passengers and crew members sensed trouble immediately. The plane was only about 30 ft. above the runway when three backfiring noises erupted, followed by a burst of flames from the left engine and a sudden stall. Horrified passengers on a commuter plane sitting on a nearby runway saw the sinking plane. "Get up! Get up!" some shouted.

But the plane could not. Hurling at 164 m.p.h., the Boeing 727 jet hit the ground on its right wing, snapped open in two places, skidded for 1,000 ft. and finally stopped in a field of knee-high weeds. Flaming jet fuel splattered inside the shattered fuselage, igniting carpets, paneling and seat covers that gave off lethal gases as they burned.

Thirteen people died, including two flight attendants and a 14-month-old girl who perished with her parents. Astonishingly, 95 survived, some by climbing through a charred hole in the roof, others by clambering through emergency exits and across the burning wings. Fire fighters arrived within four minutes of the crash and managed to douse the fire with foam in another six minutes.

The day was a deadly one for commercial aviation. A twin-engine commuter plane crashed in heavy rains in Mexico's Sierra Madre; none of the 21 people aboard survived. In Hong Kong a downpour was also blamed when a Chinese government-owned CAAC jetliner skidded while landing, then plunged into Victoria Harbor. Seven people were killed.

The Delta accident stunned aviation experts because for the second time in three years a major airline and a state-of-the-art airport were involved. In 1985 a Delta 1-1011 crashed on landing at Dallas-Fort Worth, killing 137 people. That mishap, however, occurred during a thunderstorm and was eventually attributed to the severe up- and downdrafts known as wind shear.

This time investigators suspect engine failure. Cockpit tape recordings show that the crew was talking about such trouble moments before impact. One hypothesis is that the left engine stalled out, though the plane should have been able to take off with its remaining two. Another is that spinning wheels and blades of one of the jet's turbines blew apart, sending shrapnel flying into a second engine and making takeoff impossible. The Delta jet was powered by three Pratt & Whitney JT8D engines; some models in the series were targeted by the Government for mandatory inspections and repairs in 1985, after failures were blamed for two major air crashes. Finding the precise cause could take months, but investigators will have an advantage because Flight 1141's black-box data recorder was recovered and the entire cockpit crew survived.

—By Gordon Bock.

Reported by Lianne Hart/Dallas and Joseph J. Kane/Atlanta





# CURIOUSLY, IT CAN NOW COST MORE TO DRIVE AN IMITATION BMW THAN A BMW.

BMW PRESENTS A 168-HP  
325i FOR UNDER \$25,000\*.

For years now, auto makers have been unleashing hordes of sporty-looking cars that claim to perform "like a BMW."

What's a bit puzzling about the current crop is that many of the imitations cost as much if not more than the original.

Fortunately, there's an easy way to distinguish between the two. It's called driving.

Press the accelerator of the BMW 325i, and you experience more pulse-quickening response and more useful torque—plus BMW's characteristic "silky, sexy,

and aggressive" sound (Car and Driver Magazine).

That's because the 325i's 168-hp 6-cylinder power plant, unlike those of imitation BMW's, sums up decades of racing-bred refinements. While a uniquely sophisticated engine computer coaxes maximum performance from its finely-honed parts.

Pick out your favorite stretch of winding pavement. You find yourself slicing through the twistiest of corners with an exhilarating sureness that gives real meaning to the phrase "painted to the road."

That's because the 325i combines BMW's patented fully-

independent suspension with precise rack-and-pinion steering and rear wheel drive, rather than the econobox-type front-wheel variety that makes the pursuit of high performance "an exercise in futility" (Road & Track).

When it comes to safety, you'll appreciate how the 325i's computerized antilock brakes help prevent uncontrolled skids and dramatically cut stopping distances. Imitation BMW's offer less responsive braking systems, often as an expensive extra.

Finally, this 325i embodies the meticulous construction and longer development time that traditionally enables 3-Series models to retain thousands of dollars more of their value on the resale lot than imitation BMW's.\*\*

If you're in the market for a family sports sedan, contact your authorized BMW dealer for a thorough test drive of the 325i.

You'll discover the difference between engineering applied to a car as opposed to engineering applied to a price tag.



**THE ULTIMATE DRIVING MACHINE.**

\*MSRP. Excludes destination charge, taxes, license, title, and dealer fees. \*\*Resale value based on Kelley Blue Book Best Resale Value Award for 1990-1991 BMW 3 Series. Kelley Blue Book, Inc., 100 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.



## Economy & Business

wrong, and I'll tell you why. Sure, you are on time, but it is taking you twice as long to fly from A to B."

That is the inevitable consequence of the shortage of airport capacity. Such facilities as New York's LaGuardia and Boston's Logan were built in an era of smaller, propeller-driven planes, which could use relatively short runways. Hemmed in by development, such airports will have trouble handling any significant increase in traffic. As a result, "we're heading for one of the most dramatic cases of peacetime rationing this country has ever seen," declares Philip Bakes, president of Eastern Air Lines. Says Clifton Moore, chief administrator of Los Angeles International: "There may be a time when you will have to book a flight well in advance, or pay someone for a black-market ticket." Ra-

tioning of sorts is already beginning at Boston's airport, where officials have tried to shoo away small aircraft by quadrupling the landing fee to as much as \$100 a visit, while reducing the charge for passenger jets.

Some airports could accommodate more planes at off-peak hours if they were not restricted by noise complaints from residential neighbors. Washington's National Airport, which is booked solid during the day, allows only 13 flights between 10 p.m. and 7 a.m. Late-model jets like the Boeing 757 and 767 are half as noisy as the early 727s, but hundreds of the older planes are still rattling suburban windows.

More airports are needed, but finding a site with willing neighbors is nearly impossible in most cities. The first completely new airport since 1974 will be Denver's,

which voters in nearby Adams County approved in May. Denver's current airport, Stapleton, was built to handle 18 million passengers a year, and is swamped by 35 million. The new \$3 billion airport is expected to accommodate 50 million by the mid-1990s. Colorado Governor Roy Romer, who campaigned for the new airport, made an economic appeal. Said he: "This airport is our one and only chance. We can become the transportation hub of this country."

Because new airports are financed by gate fees, airlines have sometimes been reluctant to support them—the added cost would mean higher fares or squeezed profits. But the major carriers have formed a lobbying group, Partnership for Improved Air Travel, which among other things is urging the Government to lead an airport-building program similar to the interstate-highway push.

Airports take years to build, but other remedies for congestion may help in the meantime. The FAA is experimenting with a finely tuned radar that will enable airports to land planes on closely spaced parallel runways, even in bad weather. Some airports are building high-speed runway turnoff lanes so that a jet can move out of the next plane's way before coming to a full stop, thus boosting a runway's capacity. The FAA is exploring the possibility of opening military airfields for civilian use, among them El Toro Marine Corps Air Station, near Los Angeles. Boeing and Bell Helicopter are developing aircraft that can take off vertically from a landing pad, then fly like an airplane on trips of up to 300 miles.

A formidable alternative to both the auto and airplane is coming: the magnetic-levitation train, or maglev. Supported and propelled by the force of powerful electromagnets, the streamlined maglev could reach speeds of 300 m.p.h. or more. West Germany and Japan are developing prototypes based on different operating systems. One proposed high-speed maglev route in the U.S. is a 230-mile-long link between Los Angeles and Las Vegas, a five-hour auto trip that the maglev could cover in about 70 minutes.

Breaking gridlock will take all the ingenuity the U.S. can muster, especially in a time when the nation cannot afford to buy millions of yards of concrete to pave over the problem. Says Burnley: "Because we are a free country, people are able to change their travel patterns overnight. So the challenge is to be able to think more creatively." But meanwhile, taxpayers and travelers will have to shoulder the cost for a prudent amount of highway patching and airport building. The longer such work is postponed, the more chronic the gridlock will become. If America still hungers to move, it will have to pay the fare.

—By Stephen Koepke

Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington, Thomas McCarroll/New York and Edwin M. Reingold/Los Angeles

### THREE WAYS TO UNTIE THE KNOTS



Aircraft such as the new Bell XV-15 Tiltrotor, shown swooping over Manhattan on a test flight, could reduce airport crowding because it can take off and land vertically, like a helicopter.



To clear up traffic jams caused by accidents, Illinois highway workers use a huge mobile crane, dubbed Mad Max, to lift trucks and other obstacles out of the way.



Using a traffic-flow display map, supervisors in a California department of transportation nerve center unclog Los Angeles highways by adjusting the timing of traffic lights on freeway on-ramps.



## Business Notes



**MERGERS** Weill is building a financial giant



**NEW PRODUCTS** Premier vs. regular



**BANKING** Sorting and clearing will be speeded up

### MERGERS

## If at First You Don't Succeed

The bolder the reach, the more it suits him. Sanford Weill, who resigned as president of American Express in 1985, has since made daring, but unsuccessful bids to take over BankAmerica and the consumer-leisure subsidiary of Manufacturers Hanover Trust. Last week Weill's persistence paid off. Commercial Credit Group, the Baltimore-based consumer-finance company (assets: \$4.4 billion) he now heads, agreed to take over Primerica, a Connecticut-based financial-services firm that has three times the assets of Weill's corporation and owns the Smith Barney brokerage firm.

The \$1.7 billion buyout, to be financed mostly by giving Commercial Credit stock to Primerica shareholders, marks a triumphant return to Wall Street for Weill, 55, who built the investment firm that has become Shearson Lehman Hutton. What gave Weill his opportunity was a strategic miscalculation by Primerica Chairman Gerald Tsai, 59, who paid a lofty \$750 million for Smith Barney just a few months before last year's crash. The debt he incurred in buying the firm became burdensome when Smith Barney's brokerage business sagged after Black Monday. Weill, as head of the combined firm, intends to sell Primerica's mail-

order businesses in plants and specialty foods. Then he aims to create a financial-supermarket firm comparable in size to Merrill Lynch.

### NEW PRODUCTS

## Less Smoke, Plenty of Fire

Puffers around the U.S. were intrigued last year when the R.J. Reynolds tobacco company disclosed that it had developed a virtually smokeless cigarette. Now cigarette users can decide whether the product is like the real thing. Last week Reynolds said that beginning Oct. 1 it will test-market its new brand, Premier, in St. Louis, Phoenix and Tucson. The user lights Premier like a regular cigarette, but a carbon element at its tip warms the enclosed tobacco and flavorings rather than burns them.

Even though Premier generates less smoke, it has provoked plenty of fire. Health activists, charging that R.J.R.'s Premier is not a tobacco product but a device that introduces the drug nicotine into the body, have urged the Food and Drug Administration to regulate Reynolds' invention just like any new drug. The Government will decide in December whether Premier's packaging must bear the Surgeon General's warning. Smokers may be put off by Premier's price. 30¢ more a pack than regular brands.

### BANKING

## Fast Forward For Checks

Banks in the U.S. charged customers \$145 million in fees last year for writing checks that bounced because of "uncollected funds." That is banking jargon for deposits that have not yet been credited to a customer's account during a holding period, as long as three weeks for out-of-town drafts, that the institutions have traditionally imposed as both a precaution against bad checks and a way to profit from the float. But the consumer frustration of waiting for a check to clear will be vastly reduced by new U.S. regulations that took effect last week. The law requires that checks drawn on local institutions must clear within three business days and that out-of-town checks may take no more than seven days. By September 1990, the holding period will shrink to two business days for local checks and five days for out-of-town checks.

Not everyone is delighted by the reform. For grocers, who cash 3.5 billion checks a year, it will require some irksome adjustments. Reason: the regulations impose new, standardized endorsement procedures to help speed up the process of moving checks to their appropriate banks. For example, endorsements must be confined to the top 1½-in. portion on the back of the check. Many supermarket managers

will have to buy new equipment to stamp precise endorsements on the checks and train their staff how to use the new system.

### THRIFTS

## Bailing to Beat The Clock

Danny Wall, the chief U.S. regulator of savings and loans, is on a bailout binge. Last week the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, whose Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation guarantees thrift deposits, said it would spend \$1.9 billion to rescue 14 ailing Oklahoma S and Ls. The Bank Board merged the thrifts into six larger institutions in the hope of selling them to private investors. With the Oklahoma rescue, the agency has laid out a total of \$9.8 billion in the latter half of August to salvage 45 thrifts, most of them in the financially troubled Southwest.

Wall's spending spree is motivated partly by deadlines, he acknowledges. The regulator wants to expedite bailouts before the current fiscal year ends, on Sept. 30, so that next year's ISLC spending will stay within the confines of the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction law. Wall's next rescue candidate could be a whopper: the American Savings and Loan Association of Stockton, Calif., whose bail-out may cost \$2 billion.



## Education

# Hail and Beware, Freshmen

*Some hard choices ahead for the class of '92*

**A**h, to be a freshman again. An entire year with nothing to do except sample the privileges of being an adult without the responsibilities. A chance to major in chemistry but dabble in art history, to try out for intramural water polo, to sing Cole Porter fight songs at the football game, to meet the diverse and intriguing group of people that high school and summer camp never quite delivered. Frat parties, water fights and spring in Daytona Beach. Through that gauzy nostalgic haze, many college graduates remember all the glories of freshman year, and problems no more weighty than getting up for an 8:30 class, doing their own laundry and trying to identify the meat at dinner.

This year, however, as the class of 1992 flocks to college campuses, some hard adult choices are mixed in with all the pleasures and opportunities. In an age of \$18,000-a-year college bills, many students feel pressured from the start to select a major that is not only meaningful but also marketable. Some must allocate time for a 20-hour-a-week job, as well as early morning classes and late-night study sessions. Alcohol and drugs remain an omnipresent lure and danger made more enticing than ever as stress levels soar. And the challenge of dating in the safe-sex era has shadowed even the illusion of a lighthearted passage to adulthood.

The graduates of the '90s promise to be a different breed from the carefree cutups of the '50s, the earnest rebels of the late '60s or even the button-down bankers-to-be of the '80s. "They're coming to us a lot tougher and less innocent than previous generations," says Marilyn Katz, dean of studies and student life at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, N.Y. "They're not wrapped in as much cotton batting." At the University of Southern California, Economics Professor Kenneth Taylor is concerned that today's students are overwhelmed by "more choices than they have ever had in the past. Students are expected to determine their life-style at a very young age."

The class of 1992 will need every bit of its inherent toughness to cope with challenges of the next few months—some of them familiar, but others new and unex-

pected. Homesickness, for example, has always played a part in the adjustment process, but for the growing number of freshmen whose families have been torn by separations or divorces, moving away may be particularly painful. Children in such families are often cast as comforters, confidants and caretakers of their parents as well as of their siblings. "Many of them feel really responsible for their parents," says Katz, "which makes the whole separation issue much harder."

For other new students, the greatest challenge is simply getting used to the independence that gleamed so brightly in the distance while they were in high school. "Being an adult all of a sudden was hard," recalls Harvard Sophomore Jonathan Cohn, 18, "balancing my own checkbook, making my own plane reservations." Some students struggle for the first time with managing their money. Others, like Craig Rich, a theater major at Case Western Reserve in Cleveland, found that "one of the hardest things was waking up in the morning. You didn't have Mom there banging on the door."

Many students find that they can move away from their parents, but not from their expectations. Although Mom and Dad may have been students during the wild and woolly '60s, they are often no less caught up with achievement than their children. The students are the first to notice the double standard: "I worked and they didn't," says Prudence Cumber-

batch, 19, a sophomore at Sarah Lawrence, as she compares her freshman experience with that of her parents. "They partied and had fun and I didn't. And they said, 'Please don't do what we did.'"

**T**hose expectations can be especially burdensome when it comes time to choose a course of study. The most popular major, not surprisingly in these practical times, is business. According to UCLA's Higher Education Research Institute, 26% of college freshmen last year declared a business major, with engineering a distant second at 9.4%. Sophomore Mark Rodgers, at the University of Michigan, believed at one point that his parents might cut him off financially if he majored in English. "My parents were pressuring me to be an economics major," he says. "The idea is to have marketable skills when you get out of school. It's job, job, job."

Students' obsession with career preparation is not merely a matter of too much greed or too little imagination. "I think it's because they're more worldly," explains Frederic Schroeder, dean of students at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. "Students come to us now with a much wider range of experiences and a much better sense of the world through the media. It's natural that they should come with different expectations than students who came out of more sheltered environments 20 or 30 years ago."

This purposefulness and focus on the







**Threshold anxiety:** the trials of moving in, picking classes and taming roommates can overwhelm even the most sunny-spirited freshmen

future have stripped some of the levity from the freshman experience. "They're more serious about their education," says Andristine Robinson, associate dean of students at Pennsylvania's Lincoln University. "I see better grades coming out," she says, but she also found that many of last year's freshmen skipped extracurricular activities because they "wanted to get their studies together first." For students who have just survived the brutal college-entrance marathon, this competitive atmosphere is all too familiar. But others, accustomed to being stars in high school, find themselves feeling lost in a crowd of overachievers. Alice Pond wandered into her first class of the year at Rhodes College in Memphis two weeks ago and, she reports, "half the people were like valedictorians of their high school class!"

Faced with such competition and hard work, freshmen may find it hard to make time to play and develop the friendships that are supposed to last through the 50th reunion. "It's a whirlwind," says Pamela Haber, a University of Michigan sophomore. "You make friends, you drop them." Many find that having an entirely new pool of classmates is a greatly liberating experience. Hated nicknames are finally shed, new affections can be tried on and discarded. "Nobody has to know that you were shy in high school," says Veronica Lawson, 18, a Rhodes sophomore who counsels freshmen. "I tell freshmen that this is a new beginning for them,

and to let go and make the most of it."

Unfortunately, for many freshmen this sudden liberation opens the door to indulgent excess. Despite the fact that 18 states have raised the legal drinking age since 1985, alcohol remains an often troublesome fact of campus life. Even if students cannot get into bars, most of them know upperclassmen who can buy alcohol. College officials fear that when students drink in their own rooms, out of the public eye, they are more likely to lose control. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that students find hard liquor easier to conceal than beer, but have had little previous experience with it.

**F**reshman supervisors take some comfort in the fact that drug use seems to be tapering off: 57.6% of the high school seniors graduating in 1986 reported that they had tried an illicit drug, down from 65.6% in 1981. Yet freshmen are considered to be at high risk for drug and alcohol abuse and the academic and disciplinary problems that follow. At the University of New Hampshire, for example, freshmen constitute more than half of all students who end up at the health services for overconsumption of alcohol and drugs. Drinking also makes students more vulnerable to other dangers. Between 70% and 80% of all acquaintance rapes at U.N.H. are alcohol-related. "Freshmen are at high risk for acquaintance rape," says Kathleen Gildea-Dinzeo, a health-

education counselor, "because there's a lot of going out to parties, wanting to meet people and not being sure of boundaries."

For those who are overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of new people to meet and new mores to learn, the fraternity and sorority system seems to offer safe haven: about 62% of all freshmen pledge. While some fraternities are still centers of *Animal House*-style saturnalias, many others have been forced by the new laws to clean up their activities. A number have instituted "dry rush" at parties, eliminating the heavy alcohol factor. Even the theme parties that once had such titles as "Beer with the Bros" have changed. Now fraternities sponsor barbecues, volleyball tournaments and even "Tradition Nights," at which alumni speak to the chapter about career opportunities.

The struggle to be accepted and find one's circle of friends can be especially hard for minority students, gays, foreign students and others who do not quite fit the model of Gidget Goes to College. Some campus officials are alarmed by the growing evidence of racism among today's students. The University of Massachusetts at Amherst became infamous for racial tension when an October 1986 brawl injured ten students. Now U. Mass-Amherst freshmen are shown a video about racism and abusive behavior, and this fall's new students' convocation will include remarks concerning the "celebration of differences."



Perhaps the most complex aspect of social intercourse for incoming freshmen is the age-old conundrum of how to cope with sex on campus. "The first time I saw a boy leave a girl's room one morning, I was shocked," admits Tulane Sophomore Maggie Crocker, "but by the end of the semester it was no big deal." But today's freshmen, unlike their parents' free-love generation, are bombarded by advice and admonitions about responsible behavior and safe sex in the age of AIDS. "People are more careful about with whom they get involved," says Retha Pompey, 19, a sophomore at Lincoln. "They ask more questions, like 'Who have you been with?' How long have you been sexually active?" College officials are trying to encourage the cautious approach: condom dispensers have been installed in dorms, and some health services give them out free. "We are increasingly aware that while we can't go back to the in loco parentis role of old, there is a strong public expectation that we do have a responsibility," says Stayton Wood, dean of students at Rutgers in New Brunswick, N.J. Faced with so much information and advice, students admit to some changing attitudes. "I have gone from the basic male attitude of 'Who cares?' says incoming Sarah Lawrence Freshman Olin Moore, "to one of 'You better slow down or you're going to end up dying from some strange disease.'"

**F**inally, students with an ambitious course schedule, enticing extracurricular activities and an exhausting social life find that holding down a part-time job can just about do them in. More than two-thirds of all students at private colleges receive some kind of financial help, and many work during term time to earn extra money. "You can almost sense the kind of despair that can create," says Marc Steinberg, an academic counselor at the University of Michigan. Resentments can spring up between students who must scramble for pocket change and those who can easily go out on weekends and take lavish vacations. "People who don't have that kind of money become isolated from those other kinds of people," says Steinberg. "While their friends are out having a good time, they're staffing the pizza parlors."

Perhaps the best and the worst thing about freshman year is that it does not last forever. Just about the time the vast majority of students master the tricks and tactics of freshman life, they are promoted into sophomore seriousness. Most of them find themselves better equipped to confront the obstacles and opportunities that follow. The great challenge of freshman year is learning to adapt and manage change; if that lesson can be mastered, the others are usually far less painful. "It took me a while," says Lafayette Sophomore Rick Platt, "but I had the time of my life. I had a chance to be who I wanted to be." Now there's the start of an education. —By Nancy R. Gibbs.

Reported by Brooke Masters/New York, with other bureaus

## Press

### Battling Affirmative Inaction

*Despite recruiting efforts, minority journalists have made few gains*

**T**he journalistic profession has been shockingly backward in seeking out, hiring, training and promoting Negroes," declared President Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Laying some of the blame for the previous summer's inner-city race riots on the "white perspective" of the press, the 1968 report concluded, "The painful process of readjustment that is required of the American media must begin now." Last

broadcasting," laments Columnist Dewayne Wickham, president of the 1,700-member N.A.B.J.

The reasons behind the news industry's poor performance go to the heart of its clubby, old-boy traditions. After 1968, many news organizations were quick to step up black recruiting, sponsor scholarships and institute special internship programs. Even so, studies show that the average minority reporter quits journalism much earlier than whites do. Though some are lured away to more lucrative fields, many are frustrated by limited opportunities to move up. "People who have worked hard, been on the rewrite bank, done the police beat are not being promoted as fast as their white counterparts," charges Ira Hadnot, a vice president of the Institute for Journalism Education, a nonprofit agency that has helped train 400 minority journalists. Black men fare even worse than black women, says Ernie Schultz, president of the Radio-Television News Directors Association, in part because "white males feel threatened by them."

The secret to success in minority hiring and promotion seems to be simple: hard-nosed commitment. Gannett Co. Inc., the nation's largest newspaper chain and publisher of *USA Today*, is often cited for its stingy management, but its record in affirmative action is the industry's best. Seven of the company's 89 daily papers are run by minority publishers. The company strategy: every manager's bonus depends in part on how well affirmative-action goals are met. "When others were talking about a desire to launch training programs for minorities in management," says Jay Harris, executive editor of the *Philadelphia Daily News*, "Gannett was naming editors and publishers."

New York Times Publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, the new chairman of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, says that improving racial diversity within the industry, and particularly within management, is one of the top items on his agenda. "I think it is absolutely essential that we do better," he says. Most other publishers agree. Nearly 100 news organizations were represented at the N.A.B.J. job fair, where a blizzard of minority résumés were traded. But for skeptics who have seen it all before, the proof is not in the prospecting but in the follow-up. Says Monte Trammer, the first black publisher of New York's Saratoga Springs *Saratogian*: "Affirmative action appears to be an area where whites are rewarded for intent and effort rather than results."

—By Laurence Zuckerman.  
Reported by Staci Kramer/St. Louis and Naushad S. Mehta/New York



Editor Harris of Philadelphia's *Daily News* Wanted: simple, hard-nosed commitment.

week many of the nation's top news executives attended the 13th annual convention of the National Association of Black Journalists in St. Louis to assess the progress of minority journalists in the 20 years since the report. The verdict: decidedly mixed.

While scores of black journalists are now employed by the country's most prestigious news organizations, both publishers and activists agreed that the gains have come too slowly. Minorities make up 25% of the U.S. population, but they account for only 7% of the nation's newsroom employees, vs. 4% in 1978. In TV news, black employees have not increased their ratios at all in the past 15 years, and in radio their numbers are declining. What is more, 55% of the country's 1,645 dailies still do not employ a single minority member in the newsroom. "Every year when roll call is made, there are only incremental increases in the number of blacks in print and fewer and fewer in





*Dr. Michael Collier's hands after microsurgery at Piedmont Hospital.*

## *How A Stitch In Time Saved Ten At Piedmont Hospital.*

*Time was running out for Dr. Michael Collier and his finger. Hours ago the top joint of his right ring finger had been torn off as he loaded a frightened horse into a trailer. Now only a specialized medical procedure called microsurgery could save the finger of the practicing dentist and avid pianist.*

Already one local facility could not treat him because they lacked the special facilities. Finally Dr. Collier remembered Dr. Grady Clinkscale, Jr., an orthopedic microsurgeon practicing at Piedmont Hospital. After one quick call, Dr. Collier was on his way to Piedmont.

### FROM BRAIN SURGERY TO REVERSE VASECTOMIES.

In the hands of an expert physician, microsurgery is now routine for everything from delicate eye and brain surgery to reverse vasectomies. And Piedmont is one of the few area hospitals to have an operating room equipped with the special instruments for major microsurgery.

Once Dr. Collier arrived at Piedmont, he was rushed to this operating room where the microsurgery team began the painstaking task of reattaching the finger to the hand.

While peering at the wound through a massive overhead microscope, Dr. Clinkscale first rejoined the bones with tiny metal pins. Then slowly, one by one, he sewed together the small, delicate tendons, muscles, nerves, and blood vessels with a needle as thin as a human hair and thread narrower than a skin cell.

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As for Dr. Collier, the emergency surgery was successful. After he recovered, he was able to resume his dental practice and most importantly to him, he could play once again his beloved piano. However because of the accident he did give up one thing—horses.



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## Behavior

### The Sexual Revolution Hits China

*Reform has brought a permissiveness that unsettles many*

For the Chinese, the promise of Deng Xiaoping's far-reaching reforms has often meant unexpected social strains. They range from huge student demonstrations for more political freedom to cases of spectacular corruption and a tolerance for economic inequality. But few have been as deeply unsettling as a new aura of sexual permissiveness that has sprung up with the reforms. For years of officials in Beijing tried to ward off the threat by warning unwary citizens about the evils of sex. Their efforts were ignored. These days the government permits public lectures and seminars for government workers on such previously forbidden subjects as masturbation, premarital pregnancy and sex crimes, and the talks are attracting overflow crowds across the country. "We hear much about China's four modernizations," says Shanghai Sociology Professor Liu Dalin. "We should add a fifth one: the modernization of the senses."

A decade after the Communist Party sanctioned the return of the profit motive, sex is once again for sale on the busy streets and crowded back alleys of China. Venereal disease—an affliction that was officially eradicated under Chairman Mao—has quadrupled in cities like Shanghai. Meanwhile, millions of Chinese, newly exposed to Western ideas, have fallen prey to notions of romantic love and sexual fulfillment. An estimated 60% of Chinese are said to be dissatisfied with their spouses. Mandatory counseling has not prevented more than half a million divorces a year. Police crackdowns have failed to stem underground sales of pornographic books and videos. "The Chinese are like people who have been in the dark a long time," says Liu, who is China's best-known sexologist. "Suddenly, when the windows are opened, they feel dizzy."

The antidote? Liu prescribes information, information and more information. He lectures frequently on sex, has written 30 best-selling books on love, sex and marriage, and helped start a new magazine called *Sex Education*. Largely as a result of lobbying by Liu and his colleagues, the state has agreed to fund experimental sex-education courses in 6,000 middle schools across the country. Contrary to the views of conservative ele-

ments within the party leadership, educators see China's sexual reawakening not so much a threat to public morality as a sign of progress. "If people are not hedonistic to a degree, as well as capitalistic, the society cannot be modernized," says Dr. Wu Minlun, a Hong Kong psychiatrist and advocate of sex education.

Dr. Wu and Liu, who sometimes lecture together, share a philosophy that



Falling prey to notions of romance: couple shares a park bench in Beijing

*A new mood that owes more to The Joy of Sex than to Marx.*

owes more to common sense and *The Joy of Sex* than to Marx. Liu, for example, does not condone premarital sex, but he considers it a fact of life for up to 30% of Chinese youth. The trend, he often explains to parents, is a consequence of China's "one couple, one child" policy of population control. The late marriages and subsequent late births encouraged by the policy, he believes, "do not conform to the physiological development of human beings." People reach their sexual prime toward the end of their teens, and are likely to do what comes naturally long before it is officially sanctioned.

What to do about the situation is the subject of a simmering debate. Take unwanted pregnancies. While publicly funded abortion has long been accepted as a method of birth control among Chinese married couples, the state refuses to make contraceptives available to single people. Many unmarried women are thus driven to seek dangerous back-alley abortions rather than risk the scandal that would arise from exposure of their illicit affairs

if they chose legal channels. "If we teach them how to prevent pregnancies, maybe premarital sex will become even more common," frets Liu. Still, Dr. Wu labels Beijing's stand hypocritical, pointing out that government hospitals in the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen, near Hong Kong, have become profitable abortion mills by guaranteeing confidentiality to affluent women who cross the border into China for the operations.

While the rising incidence of divorce and the emergence of the *di san zhe*, or romantic triangle, are viewed by most mainlanders as serious threats to the sanctity of the Chinese family, some Chinese social scientists regard them as largely positive. Citing statistics that show a doubling of the divorce rate in Beijing during a five-year period, Dr. Wu observes that they are a "reflection of women being less tied down by traditional mores and more open about their relationships."

Unfortunately, the government's attitude has not evolved at a similar pace. The state no longer weighs down adulterers with stones and drowns them, but women viewed as promiscuous are still sometimes hustled off to re-education camps for crimes such as prostitution and adultery.

Although authorities refuse to admit officially that homosexuality exists in China, they tend to regard homosexuals as criminals. Police have closed down at least one bar that had become a hangout for gays in Shenzhen. "Usually,

acts of homosexuality are treated as acts of hooliganism," reports Liu. His advice for handling such sexual taboos: face them realistically, rather than with superstition and criminal penalties. "We want to expose people to the germ to increase their resistance to the disease," he says.

Some officials, however, remain determined to stop the further spread of China's sexual revolution. The cover of the inaugural issue of *Sex Education* was officially stamped as a magazine limited to bureaucrats rather than for sale to the public, which will make it harder for the fledgling journal to turn a profit. The fact that investors seem willing to outwait the government—and that the first issue sold out—has led optimists to conclude that Chinese pragmatism will ultimately govern the debate over how much sexual liberation China can tolerate. "The influence of the feudal society in China remains deeply rooted," concedes a *Sex Education* editor. But, it asks, "Do you think ideas welcomed by the people can be strangled to death?"

—By Sandra Burton/Beijing



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plan on keeping  
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# Science

## Windows on a Vast Frontier

Remote-sensing devices are revolutionizing the study of the seas

Laury Miller recalls with awe the moment he first saw the infrared image of the two cyclones. The picture, taken by a Japanese weather satellite, revealed two giant Pacific storms in temporary but exact alignment on opposite sides of the equator. That conjunction generated a massive burst of westerly winds across thousands of miles of the equatorial ocean, pushing a surge of warm water eastward. Miller, a Government oceanographer, abruptly realized he was looking at a mys-

gathering data on radiation scattered by waves. At first, scientists had to correct their data for errors introduced by everything from sunspot activity to changes in the ozone levels of the upper atmosphere. "It wasn't just getting bigger computers, better instruments, better physics or better computer languages," says Robert Evans, a physicist at the University of Miami's Remote Sensing Laboratory. "We needed all of those."

Evans and his colleagues have been

Remote-sensing instruments on ships and satellites have been used for years by underwater archaeologists, geologists and naval technicians to locate submerged objects. Similarly, scientists have used infrared satellite data, combined with on-site exploration, to examine the dynamics of huge underwater storms spun off by the Gulf Stream. These systems, called warm- or cold-core rings, remain intact for months. As much as 60 miles in diameter and 3,000 ft. deep, the slowly circulating columns store energy equivalent to the capacity of a major nuclear power plant and play an important role in ocean life.

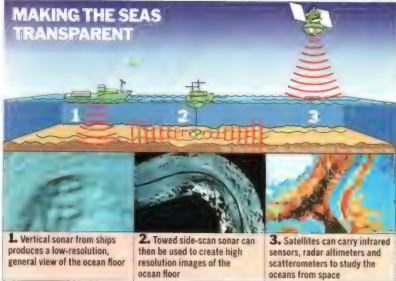
In 1985 Donald Olson of Miami's sensing lab, with Richard Backus, a marine biologist at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution in Massachusetts, set about examining how one warm-core ring off the Atlantic Coast of the U.S. affected fish. They discovered that the population of small lantern fish on the outer boundary increased 100 times during a 50-day period as the circulation drove the fish to the edge of the ring. This has led other scientists to speculate that warm-core rings could be used as huge aquaculture systems, in which food fish are seeded early in the ring's life and harvested later.

When researchers want to peer beneath the surface of the oceans, they run into what one scientist called a "conspiracy of physics." Water tends to scatter light and sound waves, limiting scientists to either a fuzzy or restricted view of the ocean's depths. At Woods Hole, Physicist Ken Stewart overcame the problem this year with a computer program that integrates several sonar readings into a sharp composite image. For instance, readings from a towed sonar system that provides high-resolution detail about ocean-floor contours can be merged with data from a shipboard sonar system that views the same territory from above. The result is a vivid, three-dimensional view of the ocean bottom. "It's a real watershed," says Daniel Fornari of Columbia University's Lamont-Doherty Geological Observatory, near New York City. "Instead of analyzing data and getting a picture months after a cruise, if we see something interesting, we can go down and dredge on the spot."

Perhaps the biggest dividend of remote-sensing technology, though, is that it has changed the way ocean scientists pursue their work. Otis Brown, head of Miami's sensing lab, likens earlier oceanographers to "natural philosophers in the early 19th century, who had to build theories based on jottings in notebooks." Now scientists like Laury Miller have pictures that give shape to their abstractions. Says Mathematician Mark Cane of Lamont-Doherty: "The great scientists have a vision into which they fit the parts, while the rest feel their way along. Now all ocean scientists have the vision as well."

—By Eugene Linden/Miami

### MAKING THE SEAS TRANSPARENT



1. Vertical sonar from ships produces a low-resolution, general view of the ocean floor

2. Towed side-scan sonar can then be used to create high resolution images of the ocean floor

3. Satellites can carry infrared sensors, radar altimeters and scatterometers to study the oceans from space

terious natural engine that drives El Niño, the unruly fluctuation of weather that periodically afflicts places as widespread as South America, Asia, Alaska and Africa.

The satellite data, published in a scientific journal earlier this year, are only the latest evidence of how remote sensing—the examination of distant or concealed objects by sound waves, electronic signals or other means—has dramatically changed the study of the oceans. Scientists are now able to see things that they could only grope at before. This is made possible not only by a satellite's panoramic perspective but also by new sonar techniques that peer through waters that are miles deep. Oceanographers who once devoted years to analyzing information from infrequent research trips are deluged with data that are yielding the secrets of earth's last frontier.

Most recent breakthroughs in remote sensing came from satellites launched in the late 1970s. NASA's Seasat 1, Tiros N and Nimbus 7 satellites took indirect measurements of ocean conditions, such as surface wind speed and direction, by

studying water color and temperature since 1980. Their aim is to develop the first global picture of oceanic photosynthesis, the process by which algae and microscopic plant life use light to convert water and carbon dioxide into nutrients. Ultimately, they would like to learn how the oceans will influence the global warming trend, known as the greenhouse effect, and how they will be influenced by it.

Today satellite pictures of chlorophyll *a*, the best indicator of photosynthesis, are as reliable as readings taken directly from the water. Evans and NASA will soon begin releasing the global images to eager colleagues. "If we are to ask society to make trillion-dollar decisions, such as switching from coal to natural gas in order to reverse the greenhouse effect, we have to validate the models on which those decisions are based," says Stephen Schneider of the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder. "The primary productivity of the oceans is an essential component of any such model."



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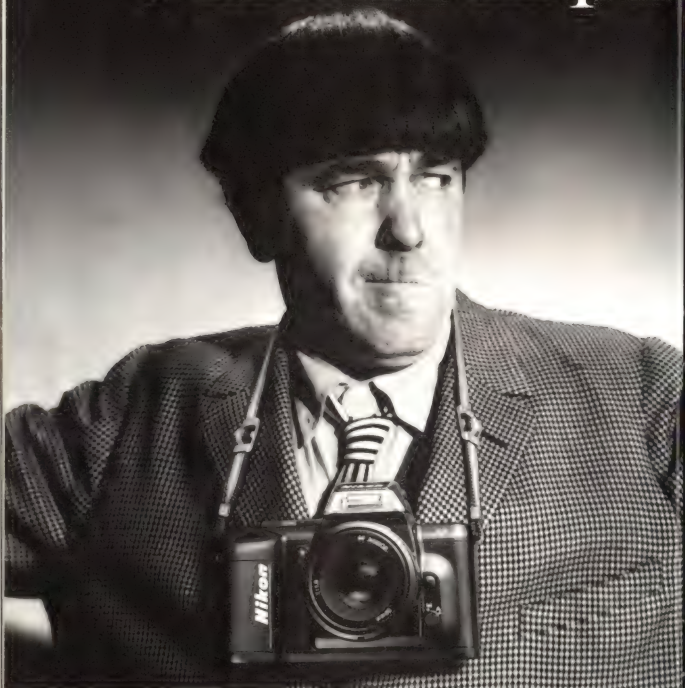
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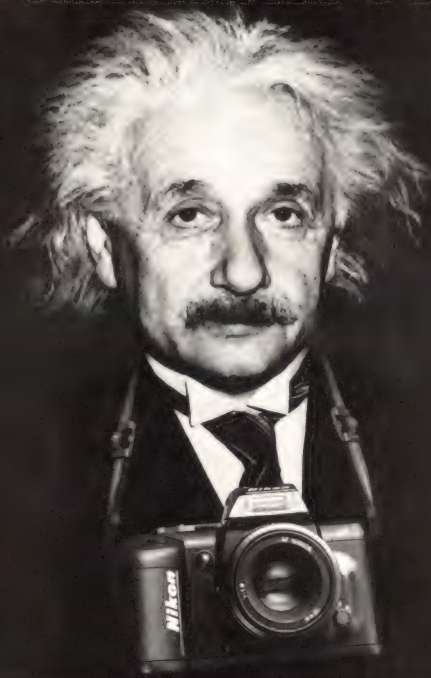
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## "LITTLE PIECES OF THE WORLD"

by Julie K. Schutte, 17

Laurel-Concord Public School

Instructors: Arllys Monson, Ellie McBride

Laurel, Nebraska



**T**he Olympic Games transcend sports. They're a symbol of brotherhood and unity, a celebration of the human spirit that touches all who compete and all who watch.

For capturing that spirit, Julie Schutte's colorful cut-paper montage was chosen as a winner in a nationwide student art contest. Says Julie, "I tried to convey the

energy and excitement of *all* the Olympic participants."

In this Olympic year, your participation can help send a winning team to Seoul. Send a tax-deductible contribution to The U.S. Olympic Committee, TIME Fund '88, Colorado Springs, CO 80950. Or call toll-free 1-800-847-2872. And we'll send you our gratitude with an official Olympic pin.



# People



One-hit wonder: Yu gets high after the Little League World Series

The kids play only six innings, and their diamond is not quite big league. But at the 42nd Little League World Series in Williamsport, Pa., **Yu Chen-lung**, 12, of Tai Chung, Taiwan, was throwing the equivalent of a 99-m.p.h. major-league fastball. Behind Yu's virtually unhittable pitches, the Taiwanese team routed Pearl City, Hawaii, 10-0, to win the championship for the third straight year. The only American hit came off the bat of **Chris Yoshimoto**, 11, who managed an infield roller off Yu. U.S. Coach **Richard Numata** took the loss philosophically. "All we expected was to get out of the districts, and we get all the way out here." Not bad, considering that the Series started out with 7,000 teams worldwide.

Rumor was that soon after his creator **Walt Kelly** died in 1973, **Pogo Possum** was swallowed up in the quagmire of the Okefenokee Swamp. Not true. Seems like the 19 cartoon critter was only playing true to his possum self. In January, Pogo and his friends—including **Albert the Alligator**, **Dr. Howland Owl** and the turtle **Churchy La Femme**—will be back with the biting satire of their '50s comic strip. Among the first of

the new batch is a parody of one of today's most revered icons, **Bruce Springsteen**. Taking Kelly's place are two young Chicagoans. Writer **Larry Doyle** and Artist **Neal Sternecky**, members of the Pogo cult that survived on campuses in spite of the strip's demise. Will they keep true to Kelly's spirit? Says Doyle: "I think it would be difficult to be any more liberal than Walt Kelly—but we're going to give it a shot." So watch out, *Doonesbury* and

pees as a stand-up comic? Last week **Abbie Hoffman** gave it a try as he introduced his comedy routine to New York City. It wasn't technically a stand-up act: he had to rest one leg, injured in a recent car accident, on a stool. A lot of the humor was predictable. Hoffman's leg cast, for example, was labeled QUAYIT-KICKER. Now, however, the activist seems to be on the wrong side of the generation gap. Hoffman, who has been arrested 53 times since the '60s, noted that policemen "still bust me and beat me up from time to time, but they call me mister." Unfortunately, most of his "liberation" gags did not stand up to the local critics. Said one: "Comedy without laughs is just too obscure a concept for us."

Where there's a will—and lots of money—there's bound to be a row. When **Henry Ford II** died last September, he left his \$325 million estate to his grandchildren in a trust managed by his widow and third wife **Kathleen**, his son **Edsel** and Detroit Businessman **Martin Citrin**. After Citrin committed suicide last April, a court battle over a new trustee erupted between Edsel, who is trying to preserve the estate's assets for the grandchildren, and his stepmother Kathleen, who draws an annual income of at

ture covers. Says Lawyer **L. Frank Chopin**, who represents both Kathleen Ford and the estate: "This was not what Henry Ford had in mind."

The topic was a natural for tabloid talk TV: male frigidity



A no-no: Hoffman as comic

and female sex surrogates. And for more than a year, **Wes Bailey** and **Tani Freiwald** spoke with poignancy of their real-life experiences on the sets of **Oprah Winfrey**, **Geraldo Rivera**

and **Sally Jessy Raphael**. Bailey (a.k.a. "George") claimed that Freiwald (a.k.a. "Rebecca") helped end his 34 years of impotence by showing him how all the parts worked. Well, liar, liar, pants on fire. Last week the couple revealed that they were actors and that none of what they discussed on the talk shows was true. Their relationship, Freiwald added, has always been "platonic." While Winfrey's staff coolly admitted to being fooled, Rivera threatened litigation. Said he: "These people are lying wimps who deceived me and my audience. We're going to go after them." Raphael too was angry, but she chose to be practical. She invited Bailey and Freiwald back on her show.

—By Howard G. Chua-Eoan



Pogo bounces back: Churchy, with Howland Owl, sticks it to Bruce

*Bloom County*. Pogo's bouncing back.

In the age of the yuppie, can a 51-year-old Yippee earn yip-

least \$1.5 million from the estate. Awaiting a court decision, the two have squabbled over such matters as the disposition of an English manor and the purchase of terry-cloth furni-



## Health & Fitness

### Going Gaga over Oat Cuisine

*A homely grain is a hot "cure" for high cholesterol*

As children, many Americans greeted a bowl of oatmeal with an expression of disgust. "It's good for you," Mom would intone, but who believed her? The yucky greige sludge might be filling, but good for you? Forget it. They sure believe her now. Today cholesterol-conscious consumers are eagerly lapping up not only oatmeal but oat bran and oat muffins and oat cookies—in fact, just about anything with oats in it. The once reviled grain has suddenly emerged as the hottest health food around. People are sprinkling it on cereal, mixing it with fruit, baking it in cakes, dissolving it in shakes and swallowing it in pills. Declares Charles Rosenblum, owner of a natural-foods store in Manhattan: "People are interested in taking it in any form they can."

Why all the fuss? The word is out that eating oats can lower cholesterol levels in the blood. Result: groceries and supermarkets can't keep oat products on the shelves. Sales of oatmeal have jumped 20% this year, and oat-bran purchases have more than quintupled. The Quaker Oats plant in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is working three shifts every day and still not meeting demand. At the Real Food Co. in San Francisco, a health-food emporium, sales of bulk oat bran have tripled in the past year to 1,000 lbs. a month. Sales of oat-based breakfast cereals and cookies have exploded 500% at Alfalfa's Market in Boulder.



**Bran boom:** consumers check fiber content in Manhattan  
*A relief from the barrage of negative dietary advice*

Companies are rushing to create new oat foods. Kellogg's has just introduced a cold cereal, Common Sense Oat Bran; General Mills came out last year with Total Oatmeal. Health Valley Foods, a California natural-foods firm, has brought out 18 oat products since 1986. Among the eight launched this year: oat-bran animal cookies for children.

The current craze stems from studies showing that oats, particularly oat bran, can have a salutary effect on blood levels of total cholesterol and, even better, of the "bad" type of cholesterol known as LDL (low-density lipoprotein). Researchers

have found that consuming 1½ to 3 oz. of oat bran daily for six to eight weeks can lower total cholesterol some 20% and LDLs as much as 25%. "It's great stuff," says Dr. James Anderson of the University of Kentucky, who pioneered the study of oat bran in the 1970s. Anderson estimates that up to 85% of Americans with high cholesterol could benefit from an oat-rich diet, with virtually no worries about harmful side effects.

How oat bran works is still a mystery. One theory is that soluble fiber, which is plentiful in oats as well as citrus fruits and peas and beans, binds up cholesterol-rich bile acids that aid in digestion, thus helping to remove LDLs from the bloodstream. Health experts, however, are cautioning that many new oat products are high in saturated fats and calories. Kellogg's Cracklin' Oats cereal, for example, is made with coconut oil, a dietary no-no. And many muffins are loaded with eggs and sugar. Moreover, oat enthusiasts are mistaken if they think scarfing down oats allows them to gorge on steak and French fries. Says Dr. Kenneth Cooper, author of *Controlling Cholesterol* and head of the Aerobic Center in Dallas: "It reminds me of the people who use artificial sweeteners and then drink a soda loaded with sugar."

Still, the fuss over oats is unlikely to abate soon. One reason Americans find the grain prescription so attractive, says Researcher Anderson, is that it offers relief from the barrage of negative advice: "People get tired," he explains, "of being told what not to eat."

—By Anastasia Toufexis  
Reported by Barbara Dolan/Chicago and Dennis Wynn/San Francisco

### Milestones

**SEEKING DIVORCE.** Julianne Phillips, 28, actress (the soon-to-be-released *Sweet Lies*), from Rock Musician Bruce Springsteen, 38, on the ground of irreconcilable differences; after 28 months of marriage; in Los Angeles.

**APPOINTMENT ANNOUNCED.** Vartan Gregorian, 54, effervescent Iran-born head of the New York Public Library; as 16th president of Brown University; in Providence. A onetime history professor, Gregorian, during seven years at the helm of the public library, revitalized its research facilities, guided the renovation of its 77-year-old Fifth Avenue building, and helped boost its endowment from \$94 million to \$150 million.

**SUSPENDED.** Lawrence Taylor, 29, pro football's pre-eminent linebacker; for at least 30 days; after failing a urine test for drugs. A New York Giants defensive star, Tay-

lor will miss a minimum of four regular-season games. Giants Owner Wellington Mara would not say whether the team would pay Taylor his weekly salary of \$62,500 while he undergoes treatment for cocaine abuse.

**SENTENCED.** Addam Swapp, 27, leader of an apocalyptic polygamist clan, and his mother-in-law Vickie Singer, 45, to 15 and five years in prison, respectively, for federal explosives and firearms convictions in last January's bombing of a Mormon chapel and a subsequent shoot-out with FBI agents and police in Marion, Utah, that left one officer dead; in Salt Lake City. Two other clan members received ten-year sentences. State murder charges are expected to be filed this week. Swapp claimed that the bombing was ordered by God to signal the resurrection of Singer's husband, Family Patriarch John Singer, who was killed by police in 1979.

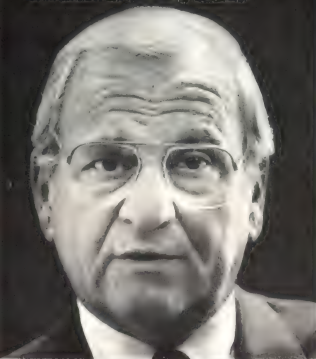
**DIED.** Max Shulman, 69, novelist, humorist and playwright who created the prototypical Eisenhower-era teenager Dobie Gillis: of cancer; in Los Angeles. His 1954 Broadway play, *The Tender Trap*, written with Robert Paul Smith, was made into a Frank Sinatra film, but Shulman was best known for the feckless, amorous grocer's son Dobie Gillis, whom he scripted through four TV seasons.

**DIED.** Luis Walter Alvarez, 77, world-renowned physicist whose work on the liquid-hydrogen bubble chamber won him a Nobel Prize in 1968; of cancer; in Berkeley. Regarded by his colleagues at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory as their "prize wild-idea man," Alvarez had numerous, eclectic interests, ranging from particle physics and theories on the extinction of dinosaurs to the use of cosmic rays to search for hidden treasure in an Egyptian pyramid.



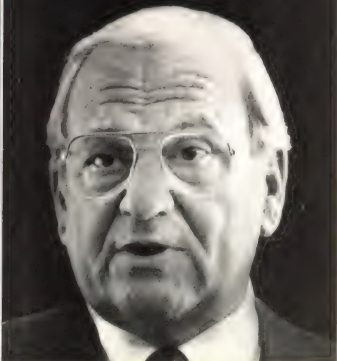
"The American car buyer honestly feels we don't have his best interest at heart...and he's telling us that loud and clear...he's buying imports."

"Any dealer worth his salt must learn to listen...or he's dead in the water."



"The car buyer wants a car that will take him back and forth to work—not back and forth to the shop. You don't buy a new car to have problems."

"Quality is your right. And we intend to see that you get it."





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**Lowest recalls.** During the same 8-year period, Government records show that Chrysler has the lowest average safety recall record of any American car company for passenger cars registered for the '80 through '87 model years.

And over the last 5 years, lower than such prominent imports as BMW, Porsche and Volvo.

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## 3. EVERY AMERICAN HAS THE RIGHT TO FRIENDLY TREATMENT, HONEST SERVICE AND COMPETENT REPAIRS

Dealer service is the key link—the most fragile link—between the car buyer and the carmaker. It can make or break a relationship.

Chrysler understands this, better than most. And (under the direction of Lee Iacocca) has taken specific action to strengthen and revitalize this relationship. Results are gratifying.

**Highest satisfaction.** Chrysler owners have the highest level of satisfaction of any buyers of American cars. Higher than GM owners. And significantly higher than Ford owners\*\*.

As Lee Iacocca says, "The next great leap forward in the car industry isn't going to happen in Detroit. It's going to happen at the dealership." One telling example: In 1981, our dealer technicians received 184,000 hours of training. Last year, 542,184 hours. That's an increase of almost 300%.

Chrysler is also giving tangible rewards to the Dodge, Chrysler, Plymouth, Jeep and Eagle dealers and their technicians for improving customer service. Because when they do, we achieve one of the highest goals in the auto industry, a satisfied customer.



# CHRYSLER ANNOUNCES BUYER'S RIGHTS.

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...Every Chrysler-built passenger car has over 30 safety features standard for '88.

...By 1992, Chrysler will have spent 440 million dollars on testing to learn how to enhance your safety.

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This program guards against the malfunction of critical items such as brakes, wipers, steering systems and starters. And is one of the prime reasons why Chrysler Motors has the lowest average percentage of safety-related recalls for any American car company.

## 5. THE RIGHT TO ADDRESS GRIEVANCES

If you have a warranty-related problem with your dealer, you have an impartial ear ready and willing to listen to your side of the story, and this comes at no cost to you: **The Customer Arbitration Board**.

This Arbitration Board consists of three voting members: a local customer advocate, a technical expert and a person from the general public. And not one of them is affiliated with Chrysler in any way.

All decisions made by the Board include the action to be taken by the dealer or Chrysler and the time by which the action must be taken.

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Chrysler believes there's no secret to satisfying customers. Build them a quality product. A safe product. Protect it right—with the longest powertrain warranty in the business. Service it right. And treat them with respect. It's that simple.

And Chrysler is doing exactly that. The proof is coming from you, the customer.

J.D. Power and Associates, one of the most respected research organizations in the industry, surveyed over 25,000 owners of 1987 passenger cars for product quality and dealer service. The results: Chrysler Motors has the **highest customer satisfaction** of any American car company—**two years running**—for overall product quality and dealer service.\*\*

As good as that is, it's not good enough. If we don't satisfy you better than the next guy...you have every right to go to the next guy. So, we're never going to stop improving present programs, and creating new ones.

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AND WE INTEND TO SEE  
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# Sport



The American catamaran *Stars & Stripes*, first two-hulled craft to sail for the Auld Mug, accelerates like an Indy speedster

## Chalk Goes Up Against Cheese

"Mismatched" U.S. and New Zealand boats vie this week for the America's Cup

A huge white ghost cut swiftly through the gentle seas off San Diego. It was the 132-ft.-long America's Cup challenger *New Zealand*, the largest boat to vie for the Auld Mug in five decades. A mile away, the smoke-blue catamaran *Stars & Stripes*, the first twin-hulled vessel to sail for the Cup, hauled closer to the wind and suddenly accelerated like an Indy speedster. The two craft—as different, in the words of *New Zealand*'s skipper, David Barnes, as "chalk and cheese"—were practicing for this week's best-of-three-races face-off. And for a change, they were practicing on the water instead of in the headlines or the courts.

Indeed, this 27th contest for the 8.4-lb. bottomless silver jug culminates a 14-month war of words, wits and wits. Both on and off the water, the meeting is sure to go down as one of the oddest and most acrimonious in the Cup's 137-year history, one that may drastically alter the future course of the event. For one thing, most experts view the contest as a glaring mismatch. Yachting wisdom holds that catamarans are faster than monohulls under most conditions. No wonder both competitors, for very different reasons, appeared to agree on which was the likely winner. "Our chances are better than one in a hundred," said Auck-



The Yanks' Conner



The Kiwis' Fay

land Banker Michael Fay, 39, who built and campaigns *New Zealand*, "but not much."

Strangely, too, both sides seemed to be looking ahead not so much to the contest as beyond it. The American defenders—Skipper Dennis Conner: the San Diego Yacht Club, which holds the Cup; and

Sail America, a private corporation that manages the event for the club—were intent on eliminating what they saw as an irritating upstart challenge so that they could get back to planning a traditional Cup defense for 1991, a several-month-long multinational regatta that may be worth more than \$1 billion to San Diego in tourist revenues. Fay, on the other hand, appeared to view this week's race merely as a curtain raiser for a court action that he will mount if he loses.

This state of affairs is the result of some gale-force legal tacking. After Conner won the Cup from Australia in Fremantle in February 1987, S.D.Y.C. did not make the customary announcement of a future regatta. Normally, such events are held at approximately four-year intervals. They are open to multiple challengers—there were 13 in Fremantle—who race for

the right to face the defender. Through the years, the design has been limited by gentlemen's agreement to so-called 12-meter sloops—a complicated equation involving length, girth and sail area that works out to boats measuring about 45 ft. at the waterline. As S.D.Y.C. and Sail America bickered over details, Fay, whose Cup entry narrowly lost to Conner at Fremantle, seized the initiative. He interpreted the

The cat "flies" a hull: action after a 14-month war of words, wits and wits



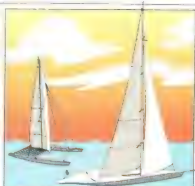


simple, two-page 1857 Cup rules, known as the deed of gift, to say that he could challenge S.D.V.C. to a one-on-one contest to be held within ten months, and he maintained that he was entitled to name his own weapon. He went to the max: *New Zealand* is the largest vessel allowed, 90 ft. at the waterline.

When Conner & Co. tried to ignore the challenge, Fay hauled the dispute to court—another first for the Cup. The New York State Supreme Court, which is the trustee of the deed, backed Fay. Conner then announced that he would defend in a catamaran. After all, Conner argued, Fay had come on like a corporate raider. "This is no different from an unfriendly takeover," Conner said. "We took our poison pill in the form of a catamaran." Fay went back to court to protest that Conner should compete in a boat similar to *New Zealand*, but Justice Carmen Ciparick told him to belay the wind. Race first, she instructed, then protest if you want to.

Since arriving in San Diego some three months ago with his crew of 40 and dockside help numbering an additional 24, Fay has mounted a campaign worthy of P.T. Barnum to publicize the alleged inequity of the boats. He commissioned an \$11,300 Gallup poll, which found that 53% of Americans feel it is not fair for sailboats of radically different designs to race against one other. "Polls can get any answer you want," shrugged Conner. Last month the Kiwis rented a 35-ft. catamaran called *Invictus* to test against *New Zealand*. The Kiwis reported that the cat "blitzed" their big boat. But last week *New Zealand's* Barnes admitted that the Kiwi boat had in fact beaten *Invictus* in the trial's more moderate winds. Conner went even further. Said he: "*Invictus* is a dog."

What really are *New Zealand's* chances this week? The big boat was ex-



#### Star of Stripes

#### New Zealand

Catamaran	Hull design	Monohull
60 ft.	Overall length	132 ft.
55 ft.	Length at waterline	90 ft.
108 ft.	Mast height	150 ft.
6,000 lbs.	Weight	70,000 lbs.
Hard wing	Sail	Cloth
9	Crew	40

pected to have some advantage in Races 1 and 3, which are sailed directly into and with the wind on 40-mile courses. With its 20,000-sq.-ft. total sail area to catch a following breeze, the Kiwi craft is figured as the fastest monohull in the world, capable of speeds approaching 20 knots. On the triangular second course, however, the lightweight, even speedier cat (top speed: above 20 knots) should be able to outslip *New Zealand* across the wind. *New Zealand* can tack more tightly and quickly than *Star of Stripes*, an advantage in sudden wind shifts and puffs of breeze. But as Kiwi Skipper Barnes noted, "If it's a straight race, it'll be a horizon job"—meaning that the cat will be so far out in

front, it will disappear over the horizon.

Whichever boat wins, yachting enthusiasts are agog about the futuristic designs of both. For instance, they each have hulls of strong, ultralight carbon fiber. *New Zealand* employs unique onboard computers. One system uses TV cameras mounted atop the 150-ft. mast to "read" the positions of the sails and then compares them with ideal models for the given wind, speed and direction. That allows the sail trimmers to fine-tune for speed. *Star of Stripes* sports a radically new, 108-ft.-tall wing sail, a vertical version of an airplane wing that is larger than the one on a Boeing 747. The design uses wind to create "lift," which in this case produces horizontal thrust.

Last week both sides worked feverishly to guard against breakdowns. The Kiwis spent most of their waking hours "bulletproofing." *New Zealand*—double-checking every screw and shroud for reliability. The process, said Fay, is "one of the things that might win this race for us." Conner, meanwhile, worried about the wind stress that *Star of Stripes'* design imposes on its gear, which could break or become fouled. Also, catamarans are notorious for tipping over easily.

What will happen after the races? If *New Zealand* wins, the Cup will go to the Mercury Bay Boating Club near Auckland, where Fay insists he will seriously consider every challenger and race every ten months if necessary. If *Star of Stripes* prevails, Fay will most likely go back to court, charging that the catamaran was illegal under the deed. If Justice Ciparick agrees, Conner will be disqualified. If not, San Diego will play host to a saltwater hoedown in '91. In any event, one thing remains clear: this is no Cup of kindness.

By J.D. Reed.

Reported by James Witherth/San Diego

With deck protruding and crewmen perched for balance, *New Zealand*, largest challenger in five decades, cuts the seas like a huge white ghost





# Cinema



All happy birthdays are alike: Phoenix, Hirsch, Lahti and Abry make a wish

## All in the Post-'60s Family

RUNNING ON EMPTY Directed by Sidney Lumet; Screenplay by Naomi Foner

**Y**ou don't have to listen to presidential candidates to realize that the American family is the national religion. It is a religion based on a noble fantasy, the dream of blood belonging. Some families stay together through love, or through propriety or inertia. All are bound by intimately shared joy and pain, by a need to keep the dream of personal immortality alive for just one more generation. Every parent must believe he will be born again in the new, improved image of his child.

As a family, the Popes may seem unique. Not many parents are '60s radicals like Artie (Judd Hirsch) and his wife Annie (Christine Lahti), on the lam since they bombed a university lab in the dear dread days of the Viet Nam War resistance. Even fewer have stayed together and raised two fine sons: Danny (River

Phoenix), now 17, and Harry (Jonas Abry), 10. At heart, though, the Popes share the passionate conservatism of any family: their desperate fugitive adventure has become a habit worth preserving at all costs. Their secret, their constant risk of exposure, keeps them close. And Danny, in the most private and exposed time of his life, must decide whether breaking away will save his family or destroy it.

Danny is the best of both parents: gifted, generous, fiercely loyal. Growing up fugitive, he has acquired the cagey independence of an Army brat. He knows enough to stay home from school the day of the class picture. A sixth sense of self-protection tells him when someone has entered the room behind him. By nature gregarious, he must keep the truth about his family guarded from those who would

be his pals. But Danny is, after all, a teenager. He has a girlfriend (Martha Plimpton) now, and a secret that is aching to burst from him like young lust.

Sidney Lumet has been here before, directing the 1983 *Daniel*, a fictionalized look at the Rosenberg spy family. And Phoenix has already played, in *The Mosquito Coast*, a teenager whose idealistic dad kept his family on the run. Plimpton offered pert consolation in that film too: Those films foundered on their ambitions; this time the pieces fall together. The actors are an ensemble who know each other like, well, family. Hirsch is righteous and funny without ever being Alan Alda; Lahti etches another of her nifty modern heroines. Phoenix shows the strength and range that could make him a must-see star for decades. All locate saving quirks in characters who could have been TV-movie-of-the-week stereotypes.

Every few months, Artie and Annie switch on the TV news and view old photographs of themselves, courtesy of the FBI. But if the Popes watched sitcoms instead of CNN, they'd see themselves there too: warm and pudgy on *The Wonder Years*, starched and smarmy on *Family Ties*. Like *The Wonder Years*, *Running on Empty* is haunted by wraiths of the '60s. Like *Family Ties*' Alex Keaton, Danny is a decent kid with dreams that trouble his ex-rad mom and dad: Alex plans to be a yuppie Ivan Boesky; Danny wants to study piano at Juilliard. And like both these shows, the movie tiptoes away from political specifics to nestle in the capacious bosom of no-issue humanism.

There is a bracing difference, though. *Running on Empty* doesn't exploit the '60s legacy for easy nostalgia. It finds lessons to apply to some poignant '80s dilemmas. How do you raise a teenager in a time when the old rules for growing up are written in code on a blackboard in the dark? How do you keep the dream of family bright without eclipsing the hope of your shining son?

—By Richard Corliss

## Actor's Dream

### MOON OVER PARADOR

Where there's a will there's a way. Put a choke hold on your desire to be perceived as a tasteful, responsible citizen and you can get laughs out of anything: Hitler (*The Producers*), sacrilege (*Life of Brian*) and, yes, Latin American dictatorships (*The In-Laws*). All you really risk is the outrage of people whose senses of humor screech to a halt when it comes to their most cherished beliefs.

Too bad the sometimes

merry and bright director Paul Mazursky flunked this test in *Moon over Parador*, for he and Co-Writer Leon Capetanos had a nice idea. An actor named Jack Noah (Richard Dreyfuss), who has worked up a party-stunt imitation of the mythical Parador's strongman, is working in that country on the day el Jefe dies of a heart attack. Recruited to replace him by the ruling families, who fear a revolution, Jack finds, as others before him have, that playing President is an actor's dream: all entrances and cheering multitudes.



Dreyfuss performs

But Jack is not a Holly wood bubblehead. He is a serious New York thespian, meaning he sometimes thinks before he says his lines. Or anyway he thinks he

thinks, which for an actor amounts to the same thing. In this enterprise he is encouraged by his inherited mistress (Sonia Braga) and by his dislike of the spokesman for the protofascist status quo (Raul Julia). The trio are game performers, but their energy cannot compensate for the lack of funny lines and well-constructed scenes. It may be that Mazursky was overcome by a sincerity attack and decided to send an earnest political message. In any event, this is a pale and waning *Moon*.

—By Richard Schickel



# Soft Wear Versus Hard Wear.

by Dan Bricklin



A graduate of MIT and Harvard Business School, Dan Bricklin was co-inventor of the first electronic spreadsheet, VisiCalc. His new program lets people imagine to work running his own company, Software Garden, Inc.

"I'm pretty well known in the world of high tech. But frankly, I'm not well known for high fashion. Quite the opposite, in fact.

During most of my career, I've worn jeans and flannel shirts to the office and kept a suit hanging in the closet in case somebody wanted to take me to lunch. Then one day, I came in and the suit was gone.

Just disappeared.

I'm still trying to figure out if someone wanted it for himself or just wanted me to get a new suit.

The truth is business clothes and I don't get along. In fact, the worst part of my job isn't when I put in

all-nighters developing a software program.

It's when I have to go to a trade show and stand around all day in a tight suit and brutal shoes.

Considering this, I was surprised Dexter asked me to give them my reaction to their new dress shoes.

My first reaction was that I'd spent far too much time in sneakers to have anything nice to say about anybody's dress shoes.

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As usual, Mom was right. Dexters are wonderful.

In fact, I wouldn't consider leaving them in the closet at work.

Who knows, they might just disappear.

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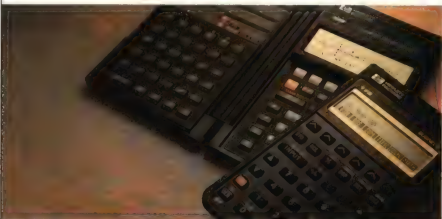


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## Books

### Challenging the Myth Machine

THE LIVES OF JOHN LENNON by Albert Goldman; Morrow; 719 pages; \$22.95

The tidal wave of grief that followed the murder of John Lennon on Dec. 8, 1980, flowed from several sources. Perhaps the most gaping of these was the shocking obliteration of a decade's worth of hope. Millions awoke one morning bleak with the promise of winter to learn that now the Beatles could never get back together, that the expansive spirit of the '60s had definitively expired ten years past its prime.

But there were other, more pertinent reasons for mourning Lennon's passing. He was not simply the megastar founder of a legendary rock group but a demonstrably troubled man who seemed to be in the process of beating back his demons. After five years of mysterious silence, he had released a new album, *Double Fantasy*, on which he and his wife Yoko Ono alternately performed love songs. Suddenly Lennon was dominating the airwaves again with his hit single from the album, *Starting Over*. And he was talking to reporters, telling interviewers about his life as a househusband, baking bread and caring for his and Yoko's young son Sean. That he should be cut down at the beginning of this new flowering, two months after his 40th birthday, just when he was starting over, seemed an intolerable irony.

It still does, of course; nothing can change the harsh reality of Lennon's death. But Albert Goldman's controversial new biography offers unsettling evidence of how thoroughly John and Yoko distorted the messy details of their lives for public consumption. Apparently the mythmaking machinery was working overtime during the fall of 1980. For one thing, the much heralded marriage was on the rocks and headed for worse. Yoko told a confidant of her plans to divorce her husband after the work on *Double Fantasy* was completed: "I need to free myself of the Lennon name." Her tender contributions to that album were inspired not by John, as everyone was led to believe, but by a man named Sam Green, her lover of the moment. And Lennon's tales of cozy domesticity in the Dakota, his Manhattan apartment house, did not stand up to Goldman's six years of research and interviews; servants handled the baking and child minding while John either nodded off or

padding about the place naked and drugged to his eyeballs.

Goldman deserves considerable credit for making such sordid, depressing material compulsively readable. *The Lives of John Lennon* is a far more balanced and objective biography than his *Elvis* (1981). Goldman, a pop-culture maven and former pro-



End of a decade's hope: Ono and Lennon five weeks before his murder  
Sordidness, a skewed perspective and compulsive readability.

fessor of English at Columbia University, had no sympathy for Presley or for the gospel, country and rockabilly traditions that fused in his music. Much of *Elvis* crouches at the level of a self-conscious hipster poking fun at a greaseball bumpkin.

Lennon, on the other hand, was too smart, self-deprecating and evasive to be an easy target for ridicule. Well into his book, Goldman drops a small complaint about the difficulties he had in getting at the truth of his subject: "Interview a score of people who interacted strongly with Lennon and you will get a score of Lenons, each one a man highly congenial to your source." This problem with evidence suggests why Goldman wrote *The Lives*, rather than *The Life*, in his title. The complications do not end here. Those eyewitnesses to facets of Lennon's life who coop-

erated with Goldman tend to be granted credibility and gentle treatment; those who refused to talk, most notably Yoko, are in for some rough handling. And another, major obstacle faced the Lennon biographer-to-be: John's story from his birth up to the dissolution of the Beatles, toward the end of 1969, has been endlessly researched, told and repeated. Hence roughly half of Goldman's immense book deals with Lennon's post-Beatle period, the ten maddest and least productive years of his adult life.

This skewed perspective undoubtedly highlights Lennon at his absolute worst. Adrift, he was a very bad piece of work: a drunken, heroin-addicted woman basher and room wrecker who was catastrophically depressed and dependent on his manipulative wife. At the same time, Goldman's emphasis dovetails nicely with the revised version of his own life that Lennon peddled during his last years. He disparaged the Beatles and his role in their success. He told one interviewer: "We sold out, you know. The music was dead before we even went on the theater tour of Britain." Goldman obediently parrots this view, arguing that the Beatles "might have rocked with the tough working-class belligerence of the Who, becoming a group whose musical gestures, seconded by corresponding stage gestures, would have created a rock theater that could have enabled John Lennon to enact the psychodrama seething inside his soul." The biographer adds, "'Selling Out' is the missing chapter in the history of the Beatles. It's the chapter that nobody has ever wanted to write."

For good reason, since the idea is crazy. Even Goldman recognizes that the discipline accepted by the Beatles proved liberating. With the album *Rubber Soul*, he writes, "Lennon was employing the new medium of pop song like a serious artist." In fact, when Lennon could harness his wit and rage within commercial demands, he simply blew away restraints and claimed new territory for the popular imagination. What, then, compelled him to destroy the most successful performing group on earth? Why did he consign his fate to a woman who would later ask friends, "How can that oaf be so successful when I am so much more talented and educated?" Goldman provides reams of material but few answers. The best he can come up with is Lennon's unhappy motherless childhood. That may explain neurosis; the peculiar, electric genius still waits for a proper accounting.

—By Paul Gray



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1876

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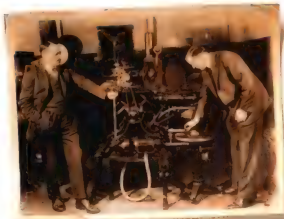
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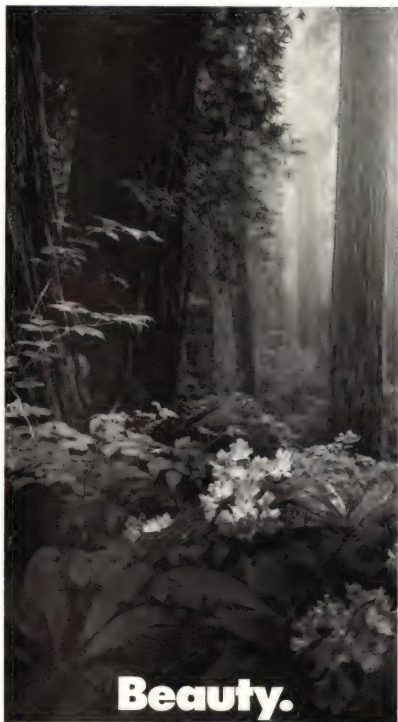
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## Books

### Bloodlines

*TRACKS* by Louise Erdrich  
Henry Holt, 226 pages; \$18.95

**L**ove Medicine (1984) and *The Beet Queen* (1986) introduced Louise Erdrich as a writer with a bold talent and exotic demographics. Both novels drew deeply from her background in North Dakota, where her German-born father and Chippewa mother worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Erdrich's use of history, legend and experience was sophisticated. She is a 1976 graduate of Dartmouth, where her husband Michael Dorris, who is part Modoc, is a professor in the col-



**Erdrich: confident lyricism and clear passions**  
"Land is the only thing that lasts life to life."

lege's department of Native American studies. She has a master's degree in creative writing from Johns Hopkins, a pocketful of literary awards and fellowships, and a seat on the executive board of the U.S. branch of PEN, the international writers' organization.

In short, Erdrich, 34, is not the sort of woolly regionalist who captivates critics with untamed energy and an earthy style. She seems to have a plan for her career; she obviously has a blueprint for her imagination. Although set in an earlier time, from 1912 to 1924, *Tracks* is part of a projected four-novel cycle that began with *Love Medicine* and *The Beet Queen*. Characters from the previous novels appear as youngsters in the new one. The narrative is again moved along by different voices carefully boxed in separate chapters.

This time, Erdrich goes to the sources of her saga's bloodlines. Nanapush, a Chippewa elder born in 1862, begins with a stark account of an epidemic that devastated his people during the winter of 1912.





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## Books

"Our tribe unraveled like a coarse rope, frayed at either end as the old and new among us were taken," he laments. Pauline Puyat, born around the turn of the century, picks up the pace with a fanciful tale about one of the survivors, Fleur Pil-lager, a young girl who grows to inhabit the book as the central symbol of endurance and revenge. Fleur is also an embodiment of a tribal mythology that includes resurrections, encounters with spirits and lake monsters. By contrast, Pauline, a "skinny big-nosed girl with staring eyes," is a Christian convert who struggles to shed her ancestral beliefs.

Historically, Erdrich is writing about a time when her maternal forebears were losing what little land they had left. Nanapush sees his clansmen tempted out of their holdings with quick-cash offers. He remains an eloquent holdout. "Land is the only thing that lasts life to life," he warns. "Money burns like tinder, flows off like water. And as for government promises, the wind is steadier."

The connections of land to culture and psychology are heavily illustrated with dramatic events and strong imagery. To leave no doubt that Fleur is an avenging witch, Erdrich poses her in front of a boiling vat of animal skulls. A tornado lifts a herd of cattle into the air, where they resemble giant birds, "dropping dung, their mouths opened in stunned bellows." A moose is tracked, killed and butchered in a snowy wood. The warm meat is then molded to the hunter's body, where it freezes to resemble marbled blue armor.

Girded by the white man's religion, Pauline renounces her people: "They could starve and fornicate, expose their young for dogs and crows, worship the bones of animals or the brown liquor in a jar. I would have none of it." Nanapush survives, largely because it seems he has been charged by the author to be around in 1924, when a lumber company starts dropping the trees in whose branches his ancestors once stored their dead.

Despite its confident lyricism and clear passions, *Tracks* bears the marks of the academic writers' workshop. The device of alternating the voices of the two narrators is schematic and of limited tonal interest. Plot is subordinated to episodic tours de force. In small doses, the graphic descriptions are impressive, but they can also be so relentless as to make the author sound like the thinking reader's Jean Auel.

Erdrich seems too eager to buy the grandiose literary line that the writer is a mythmaker rather than a storyteller. Crammed into a short, intense novel, her characters are too busy hauling symbolic freight to reveal their humanity. The concluding work in the tetralogy may bring all her rich elements together. But do not bet on it, unless Erdrich takes a crash course from Gabriel Garcia Márquez. —By R.Z. Sheppard



## Theater

# Heartland Heartiness

Minneapolis prizes the Guthrie's striking style

**T**he great post-World War II story of the American stage is the rise of resident companies in scores of cities. Instead of offering just touring entertainments on their way to or from Broadway, they present new works and innovative reconsiderations of the classics. The foremost symbol of this regional movement is the Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis. One of the older companies—it marks its 25th anniversary this year—it is also among the biggest, with 1,441 seats, more than in 25 of the 37 playhouses on Broadway.

The Guthrie emphasizes European drama, including adaptations of fiction, in a schedule rarely leavened by a conventional comedy or musical. Unlike its rivals in total audience, the Shakespeare festivals in Ashland, Ore., and Stratford, Ont., it depends chiefly on its heartland community rather than tourists. And it is plainly prided by that constituency: the Guthrie is filling more than 80% of the house for almost 250 performances this season. It derives a hefty 54% of operating costs from the box office, with local corporations subsidizing a further 13% of the \$8.5 million annual budget. While a dip in subscription sales last year contributed to a record \$684,000 deficit, subscriptions this year are the highest since Sir Tyrone Guthrie's inaugural season in 1963.

The artistic directorship of the Guthrie is thus one of the plums in the American theater. Despite this, of the six men who have held it, only two have been Americans. Alvin Epstein lasted a single season before returning in 1979 to a distinguished career as a roving actor and director. The second is Garland Wright, 42, who was appointed two years ago and recently extended his contract until 1992.

Bearded and brooding in appearance, the Texas-born Wright often looks like a villain in a Jacobean tragedy. He has directed on Broadway (*Pvt. Wars*, off-Broadway (*Vanities*), and at regional stages in Washington, Dallas, Denver and Seattle. In style and choice of plays, he suggests no major break with the Guthrie's traditions. His major effort is to enhance the status and creative contribution of actors. He wants to shift from the present resident company of 43 to a sort of extended family of 150 or so performers who will work there often but not necessarily every year or even for a full season.

The most important show staged by



Maker and monster: Curzon Dobell and John Carroll Lynch in *Frankenstein*

Wright since he became artistic director, and the newest addition to the Guthrie's repertory, is a four-hour, 41-actor production of *Hamlet*. In it, Wright depicts a crumbling monarchy in which no one is competent to rule, so that Fortinbras' climactic coup d'état is no tragedy but a blessed relief. Wright invigoratingly moves the action from space to starkly different space within the castle, mostly by use of lighting and a movable back wall that is by turns opaque, reflective or transparent. The first act begins with an elaborate dinner party glimpsed from an

antechamber: the second starts with a gaudily dressed, Kabuki-like version of the play within a play; the third, with Ophelia's funeral. In each case, the ceremony heightens the sense of falseness and decay against which the prince rebels.

For actors, the key question about *Hamlet* is his sanity. Zeljko Ivanek, 31, one of the nation's most gifted young actors, shapes his performance as a great arc. At first, everyone onstage thinks him crazy, but in his acerbic asides he persuades the audience that he is sane. Then he gradually transits into giggling, glittering-eyed madness. But from Ophelia's funeral forward, he regains himself and is ever sounder and stronger. Ivanek employs some daring and memorable gestures. Just before the start of "To be, or not to be," for example, he half-dangles from a balcony railing, makes a whooshing sound, and twiddles his fingers in tentative mimicry of a dive into nothingness.

*Hamlet* is the fourth production to join a Guthrie season that started in June. The others: Wright's own direction, design and adaptation of Molière's *The Imaginary Invalid*, transplanted from a 1983 mounting at Arena Stage in Washington; *The Glass Menagerie*, staged by Vivian Matalon (*Morning's at Seven*); and a new work, *Frankenstein—Playing with Fire*, which reached the main stage after a Guthrie-sponsored 31-state national tour. All were visually striking and raucously performed in the broadly expressive 19th century style that Wright seems to favor, particularly for the stadium-like Guthrie, where the seats are so steeply stacked that



Ivanek, right, duels Laertes in *Hamlet*

A great arc from sanity to madness.



none is more than 52 ft. from the stage. Says Wright: "That is a rather gladiatorial space. A lot of small plays and intimate approaches are eaten alive."

Certainly, there is nothing intimate about this *Menagerie*, in which the supposedly fragile Wingfield family seems robust enough to set out for the frontier in a Conestoga wagon. Guilt, the haunting theme of the play, has no place here, and there is only peevishness, rather than Oedipal tension and rage, between TV Star Polly Holliday (*Alice*) as the mother and David Ossian as her poetic son.

Barbara Fields' *Frankenstein*—*Playing with Fire* is probably the least gory and most thoughtful adaptation ever made of Mary Shelley's novel. This Dr. Frankenstein is no put-upon idealist but a chilly megalomaniac who has a kinky preoccupation with death. The would-be Shavian dialectic between maker and monster is suggestive rather than fully realized; too often, with a flourish, it reveals the obvious. Yet it is never dull, and it derives its narrative momentum from ideas rather than theatrics.

The splashiest of the season-opening productions was *Invidi*, a satire of medical quackery and patients' gullibility that ended its run Aug. 11. The text is too dated to have much to say to this era of CAT scans and laser surgery. But Wright adorned the show with every possible gimmick, from magical entrances and exits to graphic enema jokes. Some of the excess was wretched, some delightful.

Still to come this season are two formidable challenges for the Guthrie and its audience alike. One is Rumanian Director Lucian Pintilie's harrowing vision of Ibsen's *The Wild Duck*, stressing its social-class conflicts, first seen at Arena Stage in 1986. The other is the U.S. premiere of *Pravda*, a 1985 London hit about the takeover and corruption of serious news media by a tycoon whom critics likened to Rupert Murdoch. Wright is looking forward to them confidently. "Thanks to the long and rarefied history of the repertory at this theater," he says, "the audience is much better educated than average about the literature of the stage and eager to embrace demanding and sophisticated work."

—By William A. Henry III



Director Wright on his set for *Invidi*

## Music



The Feelies in New Jersey: "We don't ask what they mean"

### The Dawn of the Feelies

*Sure, the band's swell, but now can they quit their day jobs?*

**G**ood idea for a movie. And a great title: *Night of the Living Feelies*. Here's this really bewitching post-new wave band, living and working out of Haledon, N.J. (pop. 6,888). The notion is that, in the movie, all the residents of a small town not unlike Haledon are red-eyed, ash-faced zombies who lumber into a Feelies concert looking for a midnight snack. The undead are, of course, finally rejuvenated, but not by their customary infusions. The raucous restorative powers of the Feelies is what brings them back to life.

Such a flick, says Feelies Co-Founder Glenn Mercer, 33, would be a combination of *The Last Waltz* and *Night of the Living Dead*. But if it must remain fantasy for a while longer, its premise serves as an excellent introduction to the kind of sweet electroshock the band can provide. Director Jonathan Demme concocted the *Living Feelies* idea when he first saw the band in 1980, and he subsequently cast the Feelies in *Something Wild* in 1986 and put their tune *Too Far Gone* on the sound track of his current *Married to the Mob*. Demme says flat out the Feelies are the "premier live-rock band in America." They are in no danger of becoming the Demme house band, however. Their new Coyote A&M album, *Only Life*, is just their second major-label release, but it ought to be a commercial bust-through.

Feelies Co-Founder Bill Million, 35, may have got the group's name "subliminally" from a long-ago child's game: put your hands inside a covered box and guess what's inside. If their music were a guessing game, you could, inside the Feelies, grab on to the vintage strains of the mesmeric Velvet Underground and strong traces of up-to-the-minute bands like

R.E.M. What is fresh about the Feelies is the kind of sardonic innocence they bring to tunes like *What Goes On* and *Undertow*. Anyone who hears this new album will feel good first but think about it later.

An admirer of "that kind of drone quality" that was the rhythmic core of the Velvet Underground, Mercer works on Feelies material at home, on his own, then brings it in for his four partners to "mold to the melody." "Glenn writes the lyrics, though," says Million. "We don't ask him what they mean." Witty and oblique, as if they just slid off the edge of a tilted brainpan, the lyrics snuggle into niches tucked neatly inside the guitar-fueled rhythms that sound like rock for a trance state.

The Feelies leave the heavy messages at home. "We are not political," says Mercer. "If anything, we are spiritual." It must be a restless spirit just now, and a little bit anxious as well. Percussionist Dave Weckerman, 38, also free-lances in a Feelies spur group called Yung Wu and holds down a part-time job as a shipping clerk. Million, the only married band member, has a seven-year-old son and works behind the register at northern New Jersey's only rent-a-laser-disk store. Drummer Stan Demski, 28, moved out of his mother's home only this spring, and Bass Player Brenda Sauter, 29, does free-lance photography jobs. The band is going on its most extensive tour in October, and Sauter has promised herself that life will be only music from then on. The Feelies play by their own rules, but even without a single gambler among them, Sauter's resolve seems like a safe bet. Or more. Put *Only Life* on again, and by the end of the title cut, it sounds like a sure thing.

—By Jay Cockles

Reported by Elizabeth L. Blund/New York







## Essay

Michael Kingsley

# Rally Round the Flag, Boys

When Michael Dukakis was asked about news stories casting doubt on George Bush's World War II heroism, he said, "I don't think that kind of thing has any place in the campaign . . . You don't fly 58 missions without enormous courage and tremendous patriotism." Not long afterward, Bush said of Dukakis, "What is it about the Pledge of Allegiance that upsets him so much?"

There is no mistaking Bush's point. It has nothing to do with the constitutional question of whether Dukakis eleven years ago should have vetoed a bill mandating recital of the pledge in school classrooms every day. Bush is implying that Dukakis is unpatriotic, that he doesn't love America as much as he should or as much as Bush does. "He sees America as another pleasant country on the U.N. roll call, somewhere between Albania and Zimbabwe," said Bush in his convention acceptance speech. Keynote Thomas Kean, the New Jersey Governor formerly admired for his decency and moderation, accused the Democrats of "pastel patriotism," neatly combining the suggestion of insufficient national ardor with the sexual innuendo of Jeane Kirkpatrick's famous "San Francisco Democrats" phrase of 1984.

Bush praises his running mate Dan Quayle on the peculiar grounds that he "damn sure never burned the American flag," as if Dukakis or Lloyd Benson or anyone in mainstream public life ever did. Meanwhile, other Republicans spread the baseless rumor that there are photographs of Kitty Dukakis burning the flag. If Bush thinks that kind of thing has no place in the campaign, he lacks the gallantry to say so. He also lacks the candor to say straight out about his opponent what he suggests by innuendo.

Maybe this confession will just tar me as unpatriotic too, but nothing since I came of political age has depressed me so much about American democracy as the apparent success of Bush's pledge offensive. What, after all, is American patriotism about? It's not about purple mountain majesties—they have those in Switzerland. There was endless bubble about "freedom" at the Republican Convention. But freedom doesn't mean reciting a loyalty oath on command. They have that kind of freedom in the U.S.S.R. American freedom means the right *not* to recite a loyalty oath if—for reasons of religion, politics or simple perversity—you don't want to. Bush may reject this vision of American freedom, although it is shared by the Supreme Court. That is his privilege: it's a free country. It is not his privilege to imply that anyone who disagrees with him is unpatriotic.

The Bush campaign claims to be running on "issues," while the Democrats emphasize mere "personalities." But these are issues of a peculiar sort. The two Bushs have chosen to stress—reciting the pledge in schools and state prison furlough policy—have nothing to do with the duties of the President of the U.S. (Republicans, as federalism enthusiasts, ordinarily would be eager to point this out.) Bush in fact is virtually ignoring real issues. He's running on emotions.

That's fair enough. Emotions are a valid part of a presidential campaign. (So, for that matter, are personalities.) But the emotions Bush is stirring up in the name of American patriotism are ugly and—dare I say it—un-American. What unites the pledge nonsense, the furlough business, the attacks on the American Civil Liberties Union, the scare stories about a race of mythic bogeymen called liberals is an effort to induce a fever of "us" vs. "them" majoritarianism.

Most voters are happy to salute the flag, aren't in prison, aren't members of the unpopular minorities the A.C.L.U. looks out for, aren't the social losers for whom Bush's fantasy liberals are plotting expensive new Government programs. You can always evoke the emotions of normal people against the great "other" and call it patriotism. Politicians in many countries have used this technique successfully. But American patriotism is supposed to be inclusive and tolerant, not exclusive and invidious.

George Bush knows this too, or at least his speechwriter does. "I want a kinder, gentler nation," he said. Washington is still debating whether Bush really is the generous-spirited character he intermittently displayed in his acceptance speech. I'm agnostic on that one. But even Bush's critics don't believe he's really the hate-filled demagogue of his current Mr. Hyde phase. He seems, rather, to have made a Faustian bargain: my soul for the presidency. Several of Bush's campaign advisers



are well suited to the role of Mephistopheles.

Bush's patriotism is spurious for another reason. It's not-cost patriotism that demands nothing other than self-satisfaction, emotional and material. The Bush-style patriot may refuse to pay more taxes, in fact may demand new tax breaks, while clinging to every Government benefit he now enjoys. The Bush-style patriot may call for an assertion of American power but needn't put his own body on the line; he may be "proud" of service writing press releases in Indiana. And the Bush-style patriot can measure his patriotism by his intolerance of race and opinions he doesn't like.

"My opponent's view of the world sees a long slow decline for our country," says Bush. In truth, Dukakis' campaign weltanschauung is as fatuously sunny as Bush's. And Dukakis, like Bush, asks nothing of voters except to lie back and enjoy it. Those who do fear that American civilization might be on a downward slope think the inability of our leaders to make any demands whatsoever of citizens to protect our freedom and prosperity is both evidence and engine of that decline. They find know-nothing remarks like the Vice President's reaction to the shooting down of the Iranian civilian airliner—"I will never apologize for the United States of America. I don't care what the facts are"—a sign of national insecurity, not national self-confidence. To those who love America enough to worry about it, George Bush's ask-not-what-you-can-do-for-your-country flag-waving is the opposite of patriotism.



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